

A Matter of Life and Death? The Western Province Football Board and the Implementation of the Double Standards Resolution.

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on assessing and questioning the perceived 'politicisation' of the non-racial South African Council on Sport (SACOS) in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Through an institutional case study of the organisation's largest provincial football association (the Western Province Football Board (WPFB)) and its implementation of the ostensibly political Double Standards resolution, it re-examines the concept that politics captured the sports movement. Instead it is argued that sporting impetuses based in a desire for institutional survival retained primacy within the Board's decision making. In fact primarily, political ideologies were utilised to deliver sporting goals and not the other way around. This analysis is then extrapolated to demonstrate far-reaching conclusions around the relationship of sport and politics, Coloured identity and the meaning of the anti-Apartheid movement.

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Abbreviations Used

CRC	Coloured Persons Representative Council
FASA	Football Association of South Africa
FAWP	Football Association of Western Province
FCSA	Football Council of South Africa
FPL	Federation Professional League
ICC	International Cricket Council
IFA	International Football Association
IOC	International Olympic Committee
LFA	Local Football Association
LMC	Local Management Committee
NEUM	Non-European Unity Movement
NFL	National Football League
NPSL	National Professional Soccer League
NSC	National Sports Congress
SAB	South African Breweries
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACB	South African Cricket Board
SACBOC	South African Cricket Board of Control
SACFA	South African Coloured Football Association
SACOS	South African Council on Sport
SACU	South African Cricket Union
SAFA	South African Football Association
SAIFA	South African Indian Football Association
SANFA	South African National Football Association
SARU	South African Rugby Union
SASF	South African Soccer Federation
SASL	South African Soccer League
UCT	University of Cape Town
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WCSA	Western Cape Soccer Association
WPCB	Western Province Cricket Board
WPCOS	Western Province Council on Sport
WPFA	Western Province Football Association (WPFB unit)
WPFA (Hartleyvale)	Western Province Football Association (White)
WPFB	Western Province Football Board
WPIFA	Western Province Indian Football Association
WPPSU	Western Province Primary Schools Sports Union
WPU	Western Province United

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Notes on Terminology

This work's subject had three regularly used names – in official and non-official documents it is referred to indiscriminately as the Western Province Football Board, the Western Province Association Football Board and less commonly the Western Province Soccer Board. In the interests of clarity the most common of these, the Western Province Football Board (WPFB), will be used exclusively unless quoted from elsewhere.

The terms Coloured, White, Indian and African will be used in this work as written. This will not refer to any innate concept of race, but rather to the classifications provided by the Apartheid government. In respect of this, the terms will be capitalised and will not require inverted commas. When the term Black is used, it is as a grouping term for Indians, Coloureds and Africans.

The Maitland-based Board affiliate, the Western Province Football Association, had the same name as the amateur White Western Cape football association. In the White press, to avoid confusion, the common practice was to change the name of the Maitland-based association to the Western Province Union.¹ There is however no record of the Maitland-based group using or even accepting this practice and therefore it is felt imprudent not to use this group's official name. To differentiate, the White amateur association will always be referred to as WPFA (Hartleyvale) after its home ground.

¹ A practice also applied with less obvious motivation to the Cape FA.

Introduction

Some people believe football is a matter of life and death. I am very disappointed with that attitude. I can assure you it is much, much more important than that.¹

John Carlin described the story of the 1995 Rugby World Cup depicted in his monograph, *Playing the Enemy*,² as a tale that ‘felt like a fable, or a parable, or a fairy story’.³ Many South Africans must have felt similarly on the 11th June 2010. This was the day that South Africa, and Africa, first played host to the world’s largest single sport tournament, the FIFA World Cup. South Africans of all races, classes, religions and genders tuned in expectantly to see their team take the field for the opening match against Mexico. The game ticked by through a poor first half with *Bafana Bafana*⁴ mostly on the back foot. Then in the fifty-fifth minute, Siphwe Tshabalala broke clear of the Mexican defence and with his left foot unleashed a bullet of a strike which nestled perfectly into the top corner. The roar was deafening. The British newspaper, the *Daily Express*, described the reaction:

We heard it (the roar) all right. We heard it blow away all the cynicism about bringing the World Cup to Africa. We heard it roar the power of sport to do some good in what is often a difficult and troubled world.⁵

In one moment, all of the fears and consternations held domestically and internationally about South Africa hosting the event – the finances, the crime, the lack of transport infrastructure – melted away. Even the constant drone of the vuvuzela felt somehow less offensive. In that moment, outside of Mexico, it would have been difficult to find anyone in

¹ Attributed to Bill Shankly, various.

² John Carlin, *Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the Game that Made a Nation* (New York, Penguin Press, 2008). Also made into a 2009 film starring Morgan Freeman and Matt Damon.

³ Carlin, *Playing the Enemy*, 5.

⁴ Literally translated from Zulu as ‘the boys, the boys’. It is the common nickname for the South African football team.

⁵ Jim Holden, “Out of Africa: The Tshabalala shot heard around the world”, *Daily Express* (UK), 13/6/10.

the more than one billion global audience who was not willing South Africa to go on and win the game.

For South Africans this was more than just a goal in a football match. Twenty-four years earlier, as Diego Maradona's heroics⁶ lifted Argentina to the 1986 World Cup, the prospect of hosting the tournament was inconceivable. The racial policies of the Apartheid government had meant that South Africa's membership of FIFA had been suspended since 1961.⁷ The country had never taken part in a World Cup tournament, much less thought about hosting one. While limited integration had taken place at the professional level, amateur football, despite official non-racialism, remained heavily divided by race. The South African National Football Association (SANFA) catered primarily for Africans, the Football Association of South Africa (FASA) for Whites and the South African Soccer Federation (SASF) for Coloureds and Indians.⁸

Historians generally view sport as a reflection of 'the preferences and prejudices of those sections of society that nurture them'.⁹ John Sugden and Alan Bairner describe its importance:

sport has no intrinsic value structure, but it is a ready and flexible vehicle through which ideological associations can be reinforced.¹⁰

On the 11th June 2010, sport transcended this narrow definition. On this day a game momentarily at least, transformed South Africa. The legacies of Apartheid, among them deep-seated racial divisions, scarcely seemed to matter; those previously classified as African, Coloured, Indian and White united in the celebration of Tshabalala's goal.

⁶ And, from an English viewpoint, villainy.

⁷ The suspension was temporarily lifted in 1963, but was re-imposed in 1964 and the country was formally expelled from FIFA in 1976.

⁸ By 1986, all three of these organisations claimed to be non-racial and to accept all regardless of race, but they remained predominantly associated with these groups.

⁹ Tony Collins, *A Social History of English Rugby Union* (London, Routledge, 2009), 213, cited in Albert Grundlingh, *Potent Pastimes: Sport and Leisure Practices in Modern Afrikaner History* (Pretoria, Protea Book House, 2013), 8.

¹⁰ John Sugden and Alan Bairner, *Sport, Sectarianism and Society in a Divided Ireland* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1993), 10.

Economic inequalities, social prejudices and political cleavages were for an instant sidelined. For a fleeting moment, every South African felt the same.

The euphoria lasted only briefly; South Africa went on to draw the game and be knocked out of the 2010 World Cup at the group stage. As the tournament drew to a close, South Africans 'returned to their 'normal lives'.'¹¹ Quickly the united voice that had characterised the 11th June and the World Cup in general dissipated. Within a month, South Africa's major cities had been rocked by a spate of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals and a strike that involved more than a million public sector workers.¹²

The impact of that Tshabalala goal should not however be forgotten. Sport may have no 'intrinsic value structure', it may have no practical application, but it has power. For a myriad of reasons – some logical, some less so – people can identify with sporting teams in a way they do not with any other institution. For many, life is dictated by sport as much as by economics, politics or religion; their money, their time, their passions are all invested into the field to an extent that, despite the absence of an 'intrinsic value structure', sport becomes their lifeblood. For these people Shankly's quote is not baseless aggrandisement. Sport is the defining matter of their life.

It is not that these people inhabit a fantasy world where the harsh realities of life are forgotten. Sport, as South Africa realised swiftly at the end of the 2010 World Cup, is affected and shaped by a context from which it can never wholly escape. It is that these people, a group that inhabits all social strata and all areas of the globe, identify more strongly with their sport than other socio-economic institutions. This provides sport not only with the power to reflect its surrounding context, but to overshadow and shape it.

Football, perhaps like no other sport, has proven able to inspire this kind of fanatical support. To an unrivalled extent this has transcended the traditional ruptures of society: class,

¹¹ Eddie Cottle, "Introduction" in Eddie Cottle (ed.), *South Africa's World Cup: A Legacy for Whom?* (Scottsville, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2011), 1.

¹² *Ibid.*

religion, race area etc. Football is perhaps unique in its simplicity, in terms both of rules and required equipment, and in its versatility. It can range from the 'tiki-taka' style of Pep Guardiola's Barcelona side which championed strong mental traits, particularly quick decision-making and football intelligence, right the way to the rugged style of the Don Revie-led Leeds United teams which focused on utilising players' physical traits, their size, power and speed. Unpredictability, a communal nature and the capability for a multitude of different shapes and sizes to make it at the highest level have helped to make football not only the biggest sport in the world, but integral to the construction of identities across the globe.

The Western Cape was not immune to the infectious nature of 'the beautiful game'. By the 1970s, it had become the region's true mass sport. It was enthusiastically played, watched and administered by thousands – regardless of race, class, religion or area. For most of the twentieth century, the Western Province Football Board (WPFB) was by far the largest football organisation in the Western Cape. By the 1980s, with as many as 40 000 members,¹³ the Board had become both the largest affiliate of the South African Soccer Federation (SASF) and the largest sporting body of any kind in the Western Cape.¹⁴ Indeed, it seems that it was the largest secular provincial Coloured organisation in the period.

This thesis sets out to explain how the Western Province Football Board came to adopt the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) mandate of the Double Standards resolution.¹⁵ The 1977 resolution, ideologically based around the phrase 'no normal sport in an abnormal society', was ratified by the WPFB in 1980.¹⁶ The resolution ruled that no member, player or administrator of the WPFB could take part in any non-SACOS affiliated sport, serve on a

¹³ *Cape Herald* 23/4/83. There is some disagreement about quite how large the Board was. Just one month later, in the same newspaper, it was described as having 30 000 members. *Cape Herald*, 28/5/83.

¹⁴ *Cape Herald* 15/9/76.

¹⁵ The origins of the term Double Standards are unclear, but the earliest use officially comes from a Statement by the SACOS executive from 6/4/77, reproduced in Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon, *The South African Game: Sport and Racism* (London, Zed Press, 1982), 332.

¹⁶ SACOS had first implemented the policy in 1977, the SASF agreed to it in principle only in November 1978 and the WPFB only agreed to the policy on 23/2/80 – UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82, WPFB minute books.

‘multi-national’ body (such as the Coloured Persons Representative Council and Local Management Committees) or, from 1982, have any child of theirs attend a private White school.

The formulation of the Double Standards resolution has generally been viewed as an attempt by SACOS to transform sport into a weapon against Apartheid. Douglas Booth described the context behind the resolution as:

Failed negotiations (with White bodies), state harassment of SACOS leaders and a thorough analysis of the relationship between apartheid and sport, convinced SACOS that black sports people would continue to experience discrimination while apartheid existed ... and in the late 1970s the sports boycott became a strategy against apartheid per se.¹⁷

The implementation of the resolution, along with other anti-government measures, led to SACOS being recognised by the anti-Apartheid movement as ‘its domestic sports wing’.¹⁸

On the face of it, the resolution’s implementation was a complete rupture with the past for the WPFB. The Board’s less principled history had involved clauses banning Muslims and Africans, passing out parades¹⁹ which often rejected those with darker skins and a hierarchy who, almost to a man, have been termed ‘racist’ in interviews conducted by both the author and by the District 6 Museum. The shift in strategic alignment to embrace the Double Standards resolution has generally been perceived to be the result of increasing ‘politicisation’ and anti-Apartheid feeling within the Coloured community.

This study will demonstrate that this ‘rupture’ cannot simply be explained by mounting anti-Apartheid sentiment or a crude concept of ‘politicisation’ i.e. acts which actively involve

¹⁷ Douglas Booth, “The South African Council on Sports and the Political Antimonies of the Sports Boycott”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23, 1 (1997), 51.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Complete with the ‘pencil test’ of Apartheid government classification fame.

reference to governance or to the state.²⁰ The WPFB did not fundamentally change its outlook or actions by implementing the Double Standards resolution. The decision to follow its parent organisation, the SASF, and the latter's governing body SACOS into implementation took the Board almost three years of debate. Even then the Board stated that the SASF had given them 'no alternative but to implement'.²¹ While the resolution was publicly embraced and applied, in private many WPFB members flouted its tenets and continued to act in a similar fashion to before.

This thesis, through an analysis of the institutional framework of the WPFB and then an in-depth study of the effects (or otherwise) of the implementation of the Double Standards resolution on these structures, demonstrates that within SACOS there existed a fundamental division – between the political and sporting perspectives. Within the decision-making of the WPFB the sporting perspective, inherently connected to institutional survival, generally held precedence. Sport was never completely politicised. In fact, within the Board politics was more often utilised in order to fulfil sporting goals.

Historiography

Lurking beyond the boundaries of every game are interests, the focus of oppression: the economics of the owners, the politics of the government, even the passion of the fans.²²

There is now a widespread acceptance, which has permeated slowly since C.L.R. James' authoritative 1963 work *Beyond a Boundary*, that sport is a ready breeding ground for academic investigation. Subsequent works, such as Mike Cronin and David Mayall's

²⁰ Politicisation is a highly contentious term and many believe that no act is apolitical. In this work, politicisation will be used only as it is defined here.

²¹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 23/2/80.

²² Cyril L.R. James, *Beyond a Boundary* (London, Pantheon Books, 1983).

Sporting Nationalisms,²³ John Sugden and Alan Bairner's *Sport, Sectarianism and Society in a Divided Ireland*,²⁴ Timothy Chandler and John Nauright's *Making the Rugby World*²⁵ and William Baker and James Mangan's *Sport in Africa*,²⁶ have provided analysis of the way in which sport operates within and interacts with wider political and social society in a variety of contexts. It is now widely accepted that sport is capable of reflecting, constructing and maintaining a multitude of identities.

One of the earliest South African sports histories,²⁷ written in 1981, was Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon's *The South African Game*.²⁸ It provides a good introductory study of government sports policy and some analysis of the anti-Apartheid movement in sports. However, perhaps hamstrung by the fact that neither Archer nor Bouillon ever visited South Africa,²⁹ it is deficient in analysing the complexities of either area. Identity politics are touched upon, but little attention is drawn to the real and deep divides within the various sports organisations. Grant Jarvie's *Class, Race and Sport in South Africa's Political Economy*³⁰ followed soon after Archer and Bouillon's work and is beset by similar problems. Its brevity leads to a very simplistic image of the Black sports scene. For instance, the Black working-class is portrayed to be united behind SACOS and its decisions. This at best can be termed a gross generalisation. In football, for instance, the main association for Africans, SANFA, was not part of SACOS until 1988.

²³ Mike Cronin and David Mayall (ed.), *Sporting Nationalisms: Identity, Ethnicity, Immigration and Assimilation* (London, F. Cass, 1998).

²⁴ Sugden and Bairner, *Sport, Sectarianism*.

²⁵ Timothy J. L. Chandler and John Nauright (ed.), *Making the Rugby World: Race, Gender, Commerce* (London, F. Cass, 1999).

²⁶ William J. Baker and James A. Mangan (ed.), *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History* (New York, Africana Publishing Company, 1987).

²⁷ André Odendaal had released a self-published work on South African cricket in 1977: André Odendaal, *Cricket in isolation: The politics of race and cricket in South Africa* (Cape Town, A. Odendaal, 1977). While radical for its time in that it detailed both White and Black cricket, it provides limited analysis of their structures, and was ultimately more of a political tract calling for the introduction of 'mixed' sport.

²⁸ Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, i.

³⁰ Grant Jarvie, *Class, Race and Sport in South Africa's Political Economy* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985).

Despite their limitations, these works provided a framework for future studies on sport's relationship with Apartheid. Douglas Booth's *The Race Game*³¹ remains a solid analysis of the way in which international and national movements affected sport in South Africa. On a more local level, Christopher Merrett's *Sport, Space and Segregation*³² delivers a detailed and nuanced analysis into the way in which Apartheid-era local governments racially controlled space and facilities in South Africa's urban centres.

Other works have shifted their focus from the government to the identities associated with South African sport. The pre-eminent work in this respect remains John Nauright's 1997 monograph *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*.³³ Nauright, focusing on rugby, cricket and football, demonstrates sport's considerable effect in producing, facilitating and questioning unities and divisions within South Africa. While it is weaker on Black than White identity formation,³⁴ it provides a strong introduction to the topic. Ashwin Desai et al.'s *Blacks in Whites*³⁵ and André Odendaal's *Story of an African Game*,³⁶ the former a study of Black cricket in KwaZulu-Natal and the latter of African cricket across South Africa, have served to bridge some of the gaps in Nauright's work. Desai's work in particular, focusing on Indian and Coloured cricket, gives a nuanced take on racial, class and religious identities within the KwaZulu-Natal context. Religious divisions and conceptions of masculinity in Coloured Cape Town have also been studied through the prism of rugby by Nauright himself.³⁷ More recently, Albert Grundlingh's *Potent Pastimes*³⁸ has questioned prevailing historical narratives on Afrikaner identity through an analysis of the community's sporting practices.

³¹ Douglas Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa* (London, F. Cass, 1998).

³² Christopher Merrett, *Sport, Space and Segregation: Politics and Society in Pietermaritzburg* (Scottsville, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2009).

³³ John Nauright, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa* (London, Leicester University Press, 1997).

³⁴ Particularly in the years after 1973, when SACOS first entered the scene.

³⁵ Ashwin Desai, Vishu Padayachee, Krishan Reddy and Goolam Vayed, *Blacks In Whites: A Century of Cricket Struggles in KwaZulu-Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2002).

³⁶ André Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game* (Claremont, David Phillip, 2003).

³⁷ John Nauright, "Masculinity, Muscular Islam and Popular Culture: 'Coloured' Rugby's Cultural Symbolism in Working-class Cape Town c.1930-70", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 14, 1 (1997), 184-90.

³⁸ Albert Grundlingh, *Potent Pastimes: Sport and Leisure Practices in Modern Afrikaner History* (Pretoria, Protea Book House, 2013).

While rugby and cricket have both received more academic interest, there is a growing historiography of South African football. The foremost work, Peter Alegi's *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa*,³⁹ attempts to analyse how 'Africans transformed the British sport of football into a leading form of urban popular culture'.⁴⁰ While *Laduma!* offers some interesting conclusions around the appropriation of football by Africans and the complex inter-relationship between the sport and identity formation, it loses its way somewhat in the Apartheid era. Perhaps motivated by a desire to return 'the agency of black South Africans in shaping their own sporting and leisure history',⁴¹ Alegi too often creates a dichotomy between footballing bodies and the Apartheid state. Partly due to a narrow focus on professional football and Rand-centrism, the inter-relationship is reduced to a simplistic level with African bodies portrayed as being engaged in a bitter battle for survival against an all-powerful enemy. Black bodies, as will be seen with the Board, were happy to utilise Apartheid structures when it suited their goals. Perhaps due to increased co-operation with the government, Alegi deals with the period 1967-1995, a period of immense change and dispute, in just nine pages in a short *Epilogue*.⁴²

In a further series of essays Alegi has expanded his examination of the identities created and reflected by professional, predominantly African, soccer in South Africa: noting changing identities in *Playing to the Gallery*,⁴³ the impact of professionalism in '*Amathe Nolimi*'⁴⁴ as well as dealing with the influence of commercialisation in an article co-authored with Chris Bolsmann called *From Apartheid to Unity*.⁴⁵ Alegi and Bolsmann's 2010 compendium of

³⁹ Peter Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa* (2004, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 136-45.

⁴³ Peter Alegi, "Playing to the Gallery? Sport, Cultural Performance, and Social Identity in South Africa, 1920s-1945", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 35, 1 (2002), 17-38.

⁴⁴ Peter Alegi, "Amathe Nolimi (it is saliva and the tongue): Contracts of Joy in South African Football, 1940-1976", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 17, 4 (2000), 1-20.

⁴⁵ Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann, "From Apartheid to Unity: White Capital and Black Power in the Racial Integration of South African Football, 1976-1992." *African Historical Review* 42, 1 (2010), 1-18.

essays *South Africa and the Global Game*⁴⁶ has also helped to highlight more issues surrounding football and South African society both before and after Apartheid.

While Alegi and, to a lesser extent, Bolsmann have dominated the South African football historiographical scene, other authors have slowly started to emerge providing fresh insights. Oshebeng Alpheus Koonyaditse has provided a cogent summary of South Africa's relationship with FIFA which holds some good insights into the inter-play between the international football governing body, the Apartheid state and the various football organisations within South Africa.⁴⁷ On a micro level, Sylvain Cubizolles' study of the rise of the Mighty 5 Star football club in Stellenbosch⁴⁸ utilises an intriguing approach. By focusing on the case of one club, Cubizolles is able to draw a multitude of suppositions around the effects of immigration, racial politics, class and commercialisation on football in the African township of Kayamandi. A series of biographical works have also provided some interesting if specific conclusions. For instance, Peter Alegi's work on Darius Dhlomo⁴⁹ and Stephen 'Kalamazoo' Mokone's autobiography⁵⁰ are valuable studies of the trials and tribulations that faced the limited number of South African footballers who played abroad. Farouk Abrahams' autobiography provides an interesting account of his experiences growing up Coloured in Cape Town and playing and coaching in the Federation Professional League (FPL).⁵¹

Less academic monographs have also contributed to our understanding of football in South Africa. Peter Raath's *Soccer Through the Years: 1862-2002*⁵² is meticulously researched and provides a vital source of league tables and accounts of specific games even if it

⁴⁶ Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann (ed.), *South Africa and the Global Game: Football, Apartheid and Beyond* (Oxford, Routledge, 2010).

⁴⁷ Oshebeng Alpheus Koonyaditse, *The Politics of South African Football* (Grant Park, African Perspectives, 2010).

⁴⁸ Sylvain Cubizolles, "Finding a new identity for a township club – the case of the Mighty 5 Star in Stellenbosch", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28, 15 (2011), 2191- 2205.

⁴⁹ Peter Alegi, "A Biography of Darius Dhlomo: Transnational footballer in the era of Apartheid", *Soccer and Society*, 11, 1 (2010), 46-62.

⁵⁰ Stephen Mokone, *Kalamazoo! The Life and Times of a Soccer Player* (Pretoria, De Jager-HAUM, 1986).

⁵¹ Farouk Abrahams, *Surviving African Football: Farouk Abrahams An Autobiography* (Cape Town, Peter du Toit, 2003). Also see Graeme Friedman, *Madiba's Boys: The Stories of Lucas Radebe and Mark Fish* (Claremont, New Africa Books, 2001) and Peter Osborne, *Basil D'Oliveira: Cricket and Conspiracy: The Untold Story* (London, Little, Brown, 2005).

⁵² Peter Raath, *Soccer Through the Years: 1862-2002* (Cape Town, Castle Graphics, 2002).

attempts as far as possible to divorce football from the political situation in South Africa. Joe Latakomo's *Mzansi Magic*⁵³ provides some work on the rise of African football in South Africa and the culture surrounding it, and Jack Blades' *The Rainbow Game*⁵⁴ has a collection of articles which supply a stimulating if, by its own admission, random and incomplete history of South African soccer. On the Western Cape, District Six Museum's handbook to accompany its 2010 exhibit *Fields of Play*⁵⁵ on memories of football and forced removals in Cape Town provides a good introduction to understanding the WPFB, football culture in Cape Town and the impact of the Group Areas Act on sport.

Despite the growing historiography on South African sport, and football in particular, there remains a glaring absence – investigations into SACOS-administered sport and the issues surrounding it. Despite SACOS's role as the pre-eminent non-racial sports organisation for almost two decades, existing studies only provide limited insights into its workings, the meaning of non-racialism or the various identities prevalent within the group.

Analysis of the organisation has moved on very little since the early 1980s and the conclusions drawn by Archer and Bouillon⁵⁶ and Jarvie.⁵⁷ Both locate SACOS in an overtly political sphere within the context of an increasingly pervasive anti-Apartheid movement. Jarvie begins his chapter on SACOS with the statement:

The struggle through sport is only part of the struggle mounted by the oppositional forces such as AZAPO, SAN-ROC, BCM and ANC.⁵⁸

SACOS's relationship to groups such as the ANC was ambiguous at best. Their politics may have overlapped somewhat, but they disagreed on key issues and never substantially co-

⁵³ Joe Latakomo, *Mzansi Magic: Struggle, Betrayal and Glory: The Story of South African Soccer* (Cape Town, Tafelberg, 2010).

⁵⁴ Jack Blades (ed.), *The Rainbow Game: A Random History of South African Soccer* (Lanseria, Bailey's African History Archives, 1998).

⁵⁵ Various, *Fields of Play: Football Memories and Forced Removals in Cape Town* (Cape Town, District 6 Museum, 2010).

⁵⁶ Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*.

⁵⁷ Jarvie, *Class, Race*.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

operated.⁵⁹ To connect the two in the manner of the quote above is inaccurate and creates the impression that SACOS was principally a political organisation.

This view of SACOS stems from an unquestioned reliance on the rhetoric and propaganda espoused by the SACOS National Executive. Douglas Booth's *The South African Council on Sport and the Political Antinomies of the Sports Boycott*⁶⁰ is particularly guilty of this view. It suggests that SACOS by the late 1970s had come to a general agreement that it was 'impossible to separate politics from sport in South Africa'⁶¹ which led them to use sport as 'a strategy against apartheid per se.'⁶² In order to combat the 'politicisation' of sport by Apartheid, SACOS called on non-racial sports organisations to become part of a wider liberation struggle to help bring down the 'abnormal society'. In doing so, SACOS categorised its sport as 'abnormal'. Booth assumes that this rhetoric was largely accepted within SACOS affiliates.

If this assumption of politicisation is made, SACOS is precluded from existing global historiographical narratives on politics and sport. Sugden and Bairner conclude their work on sport and sectarianism in Northern Ireland by asserting that:

sport in Northern Ireland can best be understood as a two-way mirror which not only reflects transcending social and political conflict, but also, in certain important instances, helps to sustain the conflict.⁶³

Sugden and Bairner state that it is not possible for participants 'to extricate themselves from the close linkage of sport and politics', but that sport's power is that it is 'often terrain contested between competing elements of civil society and of the politically constituted state.'⁶⁴ SACOS, if viewed as part of a societal radicalisation in the wake of the 1976

⁵⁹ Not least the fact that the ANC and the other organisations mentioned drew largely on an African base, whereas SACOS was primarily Coloured and Indian.

⁶⁰ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport".

⁶¹ "Call for Sport Negotiations", *Cape Times*, 18/2/81.

⁶² Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 51.

⁶³ Sugden and Bairner, *Sport, Sectarianism*, 125.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 136.

Soweto Uprisings and the influence of Black Consciousness movements,⁶⁵ ceases to act as contested terrain. It becomes only a reflection of the wider political conflict, a small cog in a larger machine without distinct agency. The 'abnormal' nature of SACOS precludes it from sport's inherent ability to create and sustain conflict.

Due in part to the underdeveloped historiography on South African sport, wherein most works are breaking new narrative ground, there is a strong tendency to locate studies within global trends without question. For instance, Alegi's *Laduma!* begins by declaring that it expands on the work of E.P. Thompson, Fred Cooper, Keletso Atkins and Phyllis Martin.⁶⁶ In focusing on the connection between identity formation, African urbanisation and football, it inserts South Africa into a global narrative. By terming the FPL (the SASF professional league) 'anti-racist', Alegi essentially sidelines the group from this narrative. Their 'abnormal' history is dealt with in just two pages.⁶⁷ By connecting them only with a 'political' ideology in anti-racism, the work treats the group as an adjunct to the true story. Other studies have taken a similar path; *South Africa and the Global Game* barely mentions the non-racial SACOS-affiliated SASF.⁶⁸

Attempts to fit South African sports history into global narratives has led to skewed topic selection which ignores certain pervasive groups within the country's social life in favour of those who fit prevailing narratives. For example Sylvain Cubizolles' work on the Mighty 5 Star Football Club focuses on African football in Stellenbosch and the impact of economic migration on football and identities in the area.⁶⁹ The club in question was part of the peripheral African Western Cape Soccer Association (WCSA). The WPFB, by far the largest football organisation in Stellenbosch, has been largely ignored by current historiography. The topic choice seems to be predicated on the desire to fit Mighty 5 Star into a prevailing narrative, based on studies from Western Europe, which attributes the rise of organised

⁶⁵ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 55-8.

⁶⁶ Alegi, *Laduma!*, 2.

⁶⁷ Alegi, *Laduma!*, 138-40.

⁶⁸ Alegi and Bolsmann (ed.), *South Africa and the Global Game*.

⁶⁹ Cubizolles, "Finding a New Identity".

football clubs to the effects of widespread urbanisation at the turn of the twentieth century.⁷⁰ The effects of economic migration were less pronounced in the WPFb due to the age and established nature of many of the clubs and Coloured communities in the Western Cape.

This tendency to dismiss SACOS sport as 'abnormal' has meant that even when studies have focused on local organisations that were or were to become affiliates of SACOS, analysis finishes before the organisation's formation in 1973. For example, John Nauright's piece on Coloured rugby, religious divides and concepts of masculinity in Cape Town⁷¹ ends in 1970, three years before SACOS was formed. The impact of supposed 'politicisation' and the Double Standards resolution which greatly affected Coloured rugby in the area are not dealt with. Francois Cleophas and Floris van der Merwe's two essays, one on the use of the colour bar by Black sports organisations in the Western Cape⁷² and one on the Western Province Senior Schools Sports Union,⁷³ both barely deal with the influence of SACOS. The latter's focus finishes in 1973 and the former bases its investigation in the early 1960s. Despite all three essays' focus on organisations that were members of SACOS in the 1970s and 1980s, Cleophas and van der Merwe's work on the colour bar is the only one to mention the organisation by name. The work focuses on the existence of a 'colour bar', and the agitations in the early 1960s against it, within the WPFb which barred 'Muslims and Africans' from the Coloured institution. The rise of SACOS is cursorily linked to Bluebells, a traditionally Muslim club and chief agitator against the 'colour bar', but no exploration of the implications for understanding SACOS non-racialism is undertaken. Despite raising the spectre of deep cleavages within Coloured sports organisations, none of the three essays analyses how these legacies affected SACOS.

⁷⁰ See Nicholas Fishwick, *English Football and Society, 1910-50* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1989).

⁷¹ Nauright, "Masculinity, Muscular Islam".

⁷² Francis J. Cleophas and Floris J. G. van der Merwe, "Contradictions and responses concerning the South African sport colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape", *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance*, 17, 1 (2011), 124-40.

⁷³ Francis J. Cleophas and Floris J.G. van der Merwe, "A historical overview of the Western Province Senior Schools Sports Union, 1956 To 1973", *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance*, 15, 4 (2009), 701-13.

If the group is analysed at all, it is done in political terms. John Nauright essentially sidelines SACOS grassroots sport as unimportant with the assertion:

Many of the problems that SACOS had in organizing non-racial sport, outside of Western Cape townships, stemmed from its inability to command resources and loyalties across a wide political spectrum and geographical space.⁷⁴

Nauright views SACOS sport from the perspective of the non-racial rhetoric that the SACOS National Executive espoused. If taken from this viewpoint then Nauright's arguments hold weight. SACOS was never able to attract a large African membership and was deposed as the head of the non-racial sports movement by the pro-collaborationist National Sport Congress after the latter's formation in 1988.⁷⁵ What remained of SACOS, unable to position itself as a critical part of the 'negotiated political settlement' at the end of Apartheid, was eventually destroyed by it.⁷⁶ This view, however, almost entirely disregards the tens of thousands of sportsmen for whom SACOS-administered sports were not just a political ideal, but a weekly reality. For this group, SACOS's major achievement was not in legitimising the sports boycott, but in its provision of sport.⁷⁷

SACOS's collapse in the early 1990s has added to the structural reasons for the dismissal of the organisation. With the end of SACOS, many of the old provincial organisations, rooted in the Apartheid system and lacking the size of old African organisations or the financial prowess of some of the old White institutions, were forced to fold or amalgamate.⁷⁸ In football, the only current⁷⁹ South African Premier Division club to have taken part in the FPL

⁷⁴ Nauright, *Sport, Cultures*, 155-6.

⁷⁵ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 62-3.

⁷⁶ See Basil Brown, "The Destruction of Non-racial Sport – A Consequence of the Negotiated Political Settlement" in Cornelius Thomas (ed.), *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions* (Fort Hare, University of Fort Hare Press, 2006), 138-51.

⁷⁷ Nauright, *Sport, Cultures*, 155.

⁷⁸ See *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ As of 2015.

is Sundowns.⁸⁰ The invisibility of ex-FPL clubs in the current structure allows for a marginalisation of the SASF. Alegi and Bolsmann's *From Apartheid to Unity* touches on the FPL and sponsorship in comparing the league to the integrated NPSL's growing commercialisation, but the article also notes the effects of football unity. The FPL, which folded in 1990 with the onset of unity, would therefore not fit the purpose.⁸¹

The categorisation of SACOS as the anti-Apartheid movement's 'domestic sports wing'⁸² has also led to the problem that Booth terms the embracement of 'emancipation as an ethical value'.⁸³ He argues that social historians, including those of sport, through their content and form 'reveal their general commitment to emancipation and the liberation of minority groups and women from oppression and subjugation.'⁸⁴ Nowhere in this more prevalent, Booth suggests, than in South African historiography where in a manner that removes objectivity, historians are often reluctant to praise anything related to the state or its actions during the Apartheid period or to make any criticism of its opponents.⁸⁵ While the tendency is changing, it continues to affect the field.

This is reflected in Christopher Merrett's *Sport, Space and Segregation*. Primarily focusing on the official record, its stated aim is:

to track and illustrate aspects – political, economic, cultural and social – of the history of a small South African city through the lens of sport and recreation.⁸⁶

Merrett's choice of material, however, quickly devolves the study (in the post-1948 chapters) into an attempt to show how 'Sport and recreation in Pietermaritzburg (was) fashioned by ...

⁸⁰ Even Sundowns only played in the FPL for a few seasons. Ajax Cape Town was formed by an amalgamation of Seven Stars and ex-FPL stalwarts Cape Town Spurs in 1999.

⁸¹ Alegi and Bolsmann, "From Apartheid to Unity".

⁸² Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 51.

⁸³ Douglas Booth, "Beyond History: Racial Emancipation and Ethics in Apartheid Sport", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23, 1 (1997), 51-66.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 54

⁸⁶ Merrett, *Sport, Space*, 343.

apartheid'.⁸⁷ Merrett treats Apartheid as totemic, as the force blocking 'normal sport' in a manner that reduces the agency and complexities of Apartheid's opponents; SACOS is treated as part of a wider Unity movement which ignores the distinctiveness of the institution and its associates'.⁸⁸ Merrett locates the state and anti-Apartheid groups in dichotomic positions around a portrayed ethical emancipation: the state 'divided communities' while its opponents attempted to integrate.⁸⁹

The embracing of 'emancipation as an ethical value' has attracted some less academic studies such as Cheryl Roberts' *No Normal Sport in an Abnormal Society*⁹⁰ which, while attempting to 'honour' the non-racial sports movement,⁹¹ only serve to deepen the identification with 'abnormal sport'. Roberts writes:

Our non-racial sports leaders were not about money or material gain and personal wealth accumulation. They were about the struggle for a non-racial, democratic South Africa and could have years ago sold out to multi-national and apartheid sport and in the process further subjected the oppressed to inhumane conditions.⁹²

Whatever good intentions can be attributed to Roberts' work, such a hagiographical style does little to expand our knowledge of the movement. It skirts over the issues and divides within the organisation and its claim to non-racialism is accepted without scrutiny.

All of these reasons, stemming primarily from SACOS's categorisation as political, have led to the group and its affiliates being marginalised in the extant historiography. The 2006 compendium of essays *Sport and Liberation in South Africa*⁹³ came out of a conference established to provide a 'systematic study and analysis of the role sport played in the

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 314-315.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 343.

⁹⁰ Cheryl Roberts, *No Normal Sport in an Abnormal Society: Struggle for Non-Racial Sport in South Africa: From Apartheid to Sports Unity* (Cape Town, Havana Media, 2011).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 6.

⁹³ Thomas (ed.), *Sport and Liberation*.

liberation of South Africa.⁹⁴ SACOS, the largest pre-unity non-racial sports movement, however is featured predominantly in only three of the eleven essays printed in the collection. Hamstrung by its stated goal, even the essays produced on SACOS fail to question its motivations. Basil Brown's essay on SACOS's downfall assumes SACOS viewed itself as part of the liberation struggle.⁹⁵ Hamilton Peterson's essay on school sport⁹⁶ discusses an important and often underappreciated part of the non-racial sports movement, but focuses on the relationship of sport with education and takes the relationship between SACOS and the South African Senior Schools Sport Union (SASSU) as a given. Avis Smith's *The Invisible Factor*⁹⁷ details the role of women and gender politics on the movement. While the role of women in the movement should not be ignored, the article only serves to detail that women were a part of the non-racial sports movement and does not analyse what their participation means to our understanding of the organisation. The other articles in the volume focus primarily on either pre-Apartheid or post-Apartheid topics and essentially trace SACOS as the logical conclusion of growing anti-discrimination sentiment in the Black community.

Despite the general view of SACOS as 'abnormal', several works have attempted to analyse the group as 'normal'. In isolation these studies however provide questionable conclusions. Grant Farred's work on the propensity of clubs in the Cape Flats to mimic English clubs is particularly limited.⁹⁸ There is some neat analysis of mimicry, its power and its limitations and by suggesting that WPFB clubs idolised White (albeit English) teams raises the question of SACOS's racial politics. However, the conclusions are undermined by an unexplained initial supposition. It bases the analysis off an assertion that lower-class Cape Flats dwellers

⁹⁴ A goal which itself assumes a connection. Cornelius Thomas, "Editor's Comments" in Thomas (ed.), *Sport and Liberation*, 4.

⁹⁵ Brown, "The Destruction of Non-racial sport".

⁹⁶ Hamilton Peterson, "School Sport Organisations and Education, 1960s-1990s" in Thomas (ed.), *Sport and Liberation*, 120-38.

⁹⁷ Avis Smith, "The Invisible Factor: Women in the Non-racial Sports Movement" in Thomas (ed.), *Sport and Liberation*, 151-63.

⁹⁸ Grant Farred, "'Theatre of Dreams': Mimicry and Difference in Cape Flats Township Football" in John Bale and Mike Cronin (ed.), *Sport and Postcolonialism* (Oxford, Berg, 2003), 123-145.

were more likely to emulate the names and styles of English teams than those in the metropole. There are many cases of this being inaccurate: Cape Flats FA had teams such as Young Lillies, Saxon United and Santos while middle-class Alliance, an organisation based at the Rosmead Sports Grounds in Claremont, had clubs such as Blackpool and Yorkshire AFC. Even the Board-sponsored professional team, that largely comprised ex-Alliance personnel, was called Cape Town Spurs. The essay also ignores the fact that, due to forced and voluntary movement, most of the individuals who established clubs in the Cape Flats had previously been administrators in the metropole. The article never adequately explains how the original supposition was arrived at and the rest of the analysis suffers greatly. Even if this issue is sidestepped, the evidence that 'mimicry' went any further than the appropriation of names is dubious.

Perhaps the best extant work on SACOS is Ashwin Desai et al.'s *Blacks In Whites*.⁹⁹ While its analysis of SACOS structure is at times deficient and attempts to fit the narrative into a linear view of history, it provides an in-depth study of Black cricket in KwaZulu-Natal which does not embrace 'emancipation as an ethical value'. It locates the SACOS-affiliated South African Cricket Board (SACB) in its proper context without ignoring the divides and complexities within the movement. It notes that these organisations had histories of practiced discrimination and goes into some analysis of how this meshed with the politics of non-racialism. The problem with extrapolating the conclusions of Desai into wider conclusions for SACOS sport is that cricket was in a rather unique position. In 1976 the White, Coloured, Indian and African associations united as one single entity: the South African Cricket Union (SACU). The level of unity achieved in cricket was largely unparalleled in other sports. The SACB was established in 1976 in protest against sporting unity while political, social and residential Apartheid remained. This gave the organisation a unique political genesis which was unrivalled in other SACOS affiliates such as the SASF where sporting priorities were much more prominent.

⁹⁹ Desai et al., *Blacks in Whites*.

In addition to the extant historiography, this work makes use of a number of contemporaneous sources. Largely, the conclusions drawn are based on the WPFB's minute books in the period 1968-c.1984. These minute books provide invaluable information on the workings of the WPFB behind the public rhetoric. Where the minute books have gaps or do not provide explanations, interviews (conducted by both the author and by the District 6 Museum for its 2010 exhibit *Fields of Play*) and newspapers (primarily the *Cape Argus*, *Cape Times* and *Cape Herald*) have been used. These sources have significant drawbacks and have been treated with caution. Interviews, bound as they are within the politics of memory, are notoriously unreliable sources for facts¹⁰⁰ and the inadequacy and bias of the Apartheid media will be dealt with at length in Chapter 6. Despite limitations, it is felt that these sources if used in conjunction provide an extensive collection of sources from which conclusions can be extracted.

The Structure and Aims of this Study – An Overview

This work provides a history of SACOS that covers some of the gaps identified in the extant historiography. In particular, it sets out to question the extent and manner of 'politicisation' within the group and to assess the organisation with regard to its sporting rather than political goals. This has three major aims from a historiographical perspective.

Firstly, the work is intended to act as an addendum to the current historiography on South African sport. By describing and analysing how the SACOS system worked in amateur football, it hopes to add another layer to the works of Alegi,¹⁰¹ Nauright,¹⁰² Merrett¹⁰³ et al. Merrett's work in particular would benefit from a better understanding of the complexities of

¹⁰⁰ See Sean Field and Felicity Swanson, "Introduction" in Sean Field, Renate Meyer and Felicity Swanson (ed.), *Imagining the City: Memories and Cultures in Cape Town*, 2007 (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2007), 8-10.

¹⁰¹ Alegi, *Laduma!*.

¹⁰² Nauright, *Sport, Cultures*

¹⁰³ Merrett, *Sport, Space*.

the SACOS movement and how they intersected with the Apartheid local government. The work currently only serves to portray the Apartheid state as totemic and by embracing 'emancipation as an ethical value'¹⁰⁴ fails to add depth to the state's interrelationship with wider society. A more complete understanding of the operations of SACOS, the motivations behind its anti-Apartheid stance and its practical operations would allow for a more balanced and nuanced view. At the very least, this study will provide a counter-point to the prevailing narrative of Alegi's *Laduma!*,¹⁰⁵ namely the appropriation of football by the African working-class, and add the experiences of the Western Province and Coloureds to the current Rand-centric focus.

Secondly, the work will question current categorisations of the anti-Apartheid struggle. Much of the current historiography on the 1970s focuses on an increasingly all-encompassing 'politicisation' within Black society fuelled by the impact of Black Consciousness movements and the Soweto Uprisings of 1976. The epic collaborative work *From Protest to Challenge*, which focuses on the ANC and PAC, is perhaps the pre-eminent work on the anti-Apartheid struggle. The 5th volume on the period 1964-79 traces the resurgence of the anti-Apartheid struggle entirely through the rise of Black Consciousness and through the after-effects of the Soweto Uprisings.¹⁰⁶ It is a meta-narrative that has subsumed much of the historiography done on 1970s South Africa and is prevalent when the supposed Coloured 'politicisation', in which the Double Standards resolution is often located, occurs in the 1970s. Bill Nasson for instance locates the rise of Non-European Unity Movement influenced groups within the context of Black Consciousness, the shock of the Soweto Uprisings and the rising power of a new generation.¹⁰⁷ SACOS, as an identified part of the anti-Apartheid movement, is often

¹⁰⁴ Booth, "Beyond History", 462.

¹⁰⁵ Alegi, *Laduma!*.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas Karis, Gwendolen Margaret Carter, and Gail M. Gerhart, *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1990: Volume 5: Nadir and resurgence, 1964-1979* (Pretoria, UNISA Press, 1997).

¹⁰⁷ Bill Nasson, "Political Ideologies in the Western Cape" in Tom Lodge and Bill Nasson, *All, Here and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s* (New York, Ford Foundation, 1991), 210-3.

cursorily linked to this context.¹⁰⁸ This work will follow the logic set forth by Douglas Booth¹⁰⁹ and Timothy Gibbs¹¹⁰ in suggesting that the strategies and goals of organisations should not be categorised within one or other of the diametrically opposed pro- or anti-Apartheid positions. The anti-Apartheid movement was much more complex and adherents displayed a wide range of motivations, many of which were not overtly political.

Finally, from a more general perspective, a deeper understanding of SACOS is designed to be utilised to examine the efficacy of current conclusions on the inter-relationship between sport and politics. In the case of SACOS, existing studies have generally treated sport as being subsumed by politics. This work intends to scrutinise the veracity of this belief and in doing so provide evidence whether or not sport can ever be wholly captured by political considerations.

Herein lies a problem: the historiographical goals stem from an attempt to question the extent and manner of 'politicisation' within the group and to assess the organisation in respect of its sporting rather than political goals. This necessitates a certain division between sport and politics. SACOS ideology, increasingly represented by the phrase 'no normal sport in an abnormal society', did not believe that this was possible in Apartheid South Africa. It therefore drew no distinction between the two in decision making. This study will initially suggest that there was a fundamental divide between the outlooks of the SACOS National Executive and grassroots level. Many of the grassroots organisations long pre-dated SACOS's formation in 1973 and drew legitimacy from ties and connections to their communities which were not based on anti-Apartheid concerns. These ties had become divorced over time from initial (sometimes political) connotations and were chiefly associated with their respective sporting institutions. The inter-play between these sporting connections and the apparently 'politicised', i.e. actively connected to the government acts put forth by

¹⁰⁸ Merrett, *Sport, Space*, 313-21 and Jarvie, *Class, Race*, 64.

¹⁰⁹ Booth, "Beyond History".

¹¹⁰ Timothy Gibbs, *Mandela's Kinsmen: Nationalist Elites and Apartheid's First Bantustan* (Auckland Park, Jacana Media, 2014).

SACOS in the late 1970s, will be used to assess whether sport or politics held primacy within SACOS.

For these purposes, the Western Province Football Board (WPFB), the organisation's largest provincial sporting unit, has been selected as the basis of analysis. The WPFB, established in 1924, was a long-standing institution in the Coloured communities of the Western Cape and had a myriad of ties and connections that long pre-dated SACOS's formation in 1973. The impact of 'politicisation' will be represented by the Board's relationship with the Double Standards resolution, perhaps the most influential and far-reaching of the legislative acts of SACOS which has been identified as a 'tactic of political purification'.¹¹¹ The WPFB and its response to the Double Standards resolution is used as a case study to reveal the workings of SACOS, its relationship with the non-collaborationist/anti-Apartheid movement and the inter-relationship between sport and politics.

The selection of the WPFB, a predominantly Coloured organisation, as a case study causes the study to touch on the issue of Coloured identity. While the position of Coloureds as a majority in the Western Cape (and the relative paucity of Indians) somewhat divided the experiences of the Board from other units in the SACOS-affiliated SASF,¹¹² the organisation across the country primarily drew its strength from the Indian and Coloured populations. This work for the most part accepts the pre-eminent views on Coloured identity, summarised by Mohamed Adhikari's *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough*.¹¹³ It will however not treat the works uncritically and by questioning the meaning of non-racialism within the Board will attempt to establish the veracity of Adhikari's statement that assimilationist hopes (i.e. of co-option into White society) 'were remarkably resilient'.¹¹⁴ The WPFB was consistently hostile to White organisations and rebuffed all overtures. This study hopes to raise Coloured

¹¹¹ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 57.

¹¹² 70% of all Coloureds lived in the area. Mohammed Adhikari, "From Narratives of Miscegenation to Post-Modernist Re-Imagining: Toward a Historiography of Coloured Identity in South Africa." in Mohammed Adhikari (ed.), *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa* (Cape Town, UCT Press, 2009), 4.

¹¹³ Mohamed Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community* (Cape Town, Double Storey Books, 2005).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

identity issues that are not evident within Adhikari's focus on elites and political writings that miss the mass movements more evident in sport.

In order to analyse the effect of the 'political' Double Standards resolution on the WPFb, the study will first have to establish the previously extant structure and culture of the Board before attempting to identify when, how and if the association and its members were fundamentally affected by the resolution's implementation. Instead of a narrow focus on political context, the WPFb will be treated as an institution undergoing fundamental change. The study will therefore draw on a framework drawn from organisational studies and social movement analysis.

In particular, it will utilise the framework established by Davis et al. in *Social Movements and Organization Theory*.¹¹⁵ The study calls for an amalgamation of the fields of organisational studies and social movement analysis in order to provide 'mutually beneficial cross-fertilization'.¹¹⁶ Davis et al. argue that organisational studies scholars have tended to focus on 'established organizational forms operating in specialized sectors or arenas'.¹¹⁷ Meanwhile, social movement analysis scholars have focused on the 'study of emergent and challenging social movements targeting society-wide concerns'.¹¹⁸ The work suggests that this divided approach becomes inadequate when established organisations undergo fundamental change:

The so-called established arenas – whether entire societies or sectors such as health care services – can undergo fundamental change, as prevailing conventions are questioned and entrenched interests challenged. In such situations, attending to the structure and actions of

¹¹⁵ Gerald F. Davis, Doug McAdam, W. Richard Scott, Mayer N. Zald (ed.), *Social Movements and Organization Theory* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹¹⁷ Doug McAdam and W. Richard Scott, "Organizations and Movements" in *Ibid.*, 12.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

both established and emergent players is critical to understanding subsequent processes and outcomes.¹¹⁹

In this situation, it is advised that scholars should make use of techniques from both fields when studying an established organisation undergoing fundamental change. Their framework suggests six sections for a study:

- 1) The starting point should be to identify the relevant period of interest and define the composition of the three classes of actors: Dominants, Challengers and Governance Units. The Dominants are defined as 'those individuals, groups and organizations around whose actions and interests the field tends to resolve.'¹²⁰ The Challengers are those seeking to challenge the advantaged position of the Dominants and the Governance Units are the organisational units that exercise power and authority within the institution.
- 2) The 'wider social environment' for any institution needs to be defined. This should focus on identifying 'external actors' – anyone who, despite not being recognised as a participant in the field, in some manner influences the course of action.
- 3) Institutions are characterised by certain 'Institutional Logics': values, norms and beliefs within the organisation. These characteristics, based in the framework and goals of the institution, separate it from (but may reflect) wider society.
- 4) Under normal circumstances, institutions tend towards stability and a status quo in the form of a hard-won 'institutional settlement'. Periods of 'fundamental change' are thereby predicated on 'destabilising events or processes' which push the organisation away from the status quo.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

- 5) These 'destabilising events' set in motion a process of 'reactive mobilisation' within the institution. Within this 'reactive mobilisation', a fundamental change is appropriated.
- 6) The organisation then reforms an 'institutional settlement' via a shift in 'strategic alignment'.¹²¹

This framework is particularly relevant to the WPFB. It was an established organisation which through its affiliation to SACOS and the Double Standards resolution has been perceived to have undergone a 'fundamental change'. The framework suggested by Davis et al. is therefore well-suited to the purposes of this study and will largely be followed.

Since the WPFB should not be seen only 'as an institution prone to being 'captured' and used in the interests of one class or another',¹²² the first two chapters will focus on establishing the structure of the institution as well as the wider context of football in the 1970s. Chapter 1 outlines the structure of the WPFB, its extant culture and the three classes of actors within the institution: Dominants, Challengers and Governance Units. This will allow the establishment of the WPFB's 'particular interests associated with ... territorial sovereignty'¹²³ which gave the institution a definable culture connected to, but separate from, wider Coloured and Apartheid society. This peculiar culture will be used as the basis to establish the impact of the implementation of the Double Standards resolution. In particular, the chapter will detail how, why and where the Coloured middle-classes established themselves as Dominants and the nature/efficacy of the 'challenge' to their position from lower-class, less-established and 'politicised' (Muslim) groups.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 17-9.

¹²² Alan Lester, Etienne Nel and Tony Binns, *South Africa: Past, Present and Future: Gold at the End of the Rainbow?* (Harlow, Longman, 2000), 10.

¹²³ Jennifer Robinson, *The Power of Apartheid: State, Power and Space in South African Cities* (Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann, 1996), 3.

Chapter 2, establishes the 'wider social environment' of the WPFB.¹²⁴ Since the Double Standards resolution was formulated due to the destabilisation of the wider South African football structure, understanding the workings and motives of the other football associations is deemed necessary. It sets out the structure of these organisations in Cape Town and the position of the Board vis-à-vis non-Coloured communities.

Chapter 3 attempts to cover the final three points made by Davis et al. It identifies the shift in government policy towards the acceptance of non-racial sport and the collapse of the White professional league, the National Football League (NFL), as 'destabilising events'. The period of 'reactive mobilisation' that led to the implementation of the Double Standards resolution is then described. The end of the chapter is devoted to defining the new Institutional Settlement that was produced. It will demonstrate that within the WPFB the Double Standards resolution was not primarily utilised as a political act. Instead the WPFB, due to its distinct Institutional culture, used the resolution principally to further its sporting interests.

The remaining chapters will suggest the WPFB did not view the resolution in political terms. Rather it was implemented largely to ensure the survival of WPFB football and the Board as an institution within the Apartheid context and had no specific political goal.

Chapter 4 suggests that the destabilising effects, detailed in the previous chapter, led directly to the embracement of a new Institutional Logic within the WPFB: unity. This unity however remained focused narrowly on the Coloured (male) community. The relationship of the WPFB with its 'external actors' had destabilised, but the Board's antagonistic attitude towards them had not fundamentally altered. The WPFB used the Double Standards resolution to attempt to maintain the fundamentals of its previous societal position as pre-eminent within the Coloured community.

¹²⁴ McAdam and Scott, "Organizations and Movements", 17.

Chapter 5, 'Uncertainty', treats Double Standards as representative of Coloureds' marginal position within the Apartheid system.¹²⁵ In the wake of forced removals and the new government sports policy, the WPFB had become increasingly concerned by the uncertainty of future National Party policies, over which its members had very little control. As government policy towards Coloureds became increasingly unclear, the WPFB viewed the Double Standards resolution as a means to increase the effects of its own agency. Thus its extant position was protected.

Chapter 6, 'Confusion', will suggest that the WPFB's ability to implement the Double Standards resolution in a discriminate, asymmetric and largely apolitical manner was facilitated by the 'abnormal' nature of Apartheid society. The first part will demonstrate, primarily through a study of Cape newspapers, that the media acted primarily with regards to its own priorities and outlooks. Due both to their outlook, which focused on political rather than sporting considerations, and their personal priorities the media failed to provide an adequate 'check' on the power of the WPFB. The Board was therefore able to implement the Double Standards resolution with impunity and without generally accepted standards. The second part of the chapter demonstrates the WPFB's response to this relative freedom was to leave decision making to its provincial units who each used the resolution for its own purposes. This, it is noted, has strong parallels to the implementation of the National Party's new sports policy.

A conclusion follows Chapter 6 that returns to the stated aims in the introduction and the possible impact of the study.

This thesis attempts to demonstrate that the implementation of the Double Standards resolution was predicated on an attempt by the WPFB to keep itself alive, to keep its football alive within the Apartheid context. The WPFB's response to the resolution was primarily motivated by sporting, rather than political considerations. The three stated

¹²⁵ See Adhikari, *Not White Enough*, xii.

motivations/reasons for the Double Standards resolution – unity, confusion and uncertainty – are not designed to be exhaustive. To describe the complete range of influences on any one person's decision to implement the resolution would be unfeasible. To attempt to do so for every member of the WPFB would be downright foolish. This study is therefore designed only to highlight certain widely held themes/beliefs.

Chapter 1 – The Structure and Culture of the WPFB pre-Double Standards.

Rather than viewing ... an institution (as) prone to being 'captured' and used in the interests of one class or another, we see it as having its own particular interests associated with territorial sovereignty.¹

The major differential marker between an institution and a 'non-rational collective' is that within an institution, while not entirely shorn of their personal autonomy, actors are influenced 'toward a pattern of coordinated and effective behavior'.² This means that they can never wholly be 'captured' by its surrounding context. Each institution has its own set of values, norms and beliefs or Institutional Logics that steer the organisation and its members.³ These guiding principles, utilised in order to achieve a group's goals, are the prism through which they view and interact with wider society. It is therefore impossible to fully assess the impact of the implementation of the Double Standards resolution on the WPFB unless these Institutional Logics, the primary groups of institutional actors and the motivations and meanings behind them are defined.

The Structure of the WPFB

The 'belief systems and associated practices that predominate in an organizational field' reflect a general consensus on how to achieve an institution's objectives within a set structure.⁴ The structure of the WPFB reflected the sport's colonial origins amongst the Coloured community in Cape Town. Football initially diffused into the Western Cape

¹ Lester et al., *South Africa: Past, Present*, 10.

² Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organizations* (4th Edition) (New York, The Free Press, 1997), 2.

³ McAdam and Scott, "Organizations and Movements", 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

through English-speaking officials and soldiers,⁵ but it quickly drew interest from the Black inhabitants of the province. White practices were intently watched, imbibed and soon after mimicked. By the start of the twentieth century, football in the Coloured areas of Cape Town had begun to be formalised with the establishment of organised clubs. Their names often had explicit colonial links. One of the first clubs to be set-up in Wynberg, the Yorkshire Football Club (1903), was so-dubbed after the Yorkshire Light Infantry Unit whom the club's founders regularly watched play in their free time.⁶ Another early club, Young Men's Own Bible Class FC (1917), was formed by a Baptist Sunday School teacher and held its first meeting at the Methodist Church on the corner of Chapel and Sydney Streets in District Six.⁷

In 1904 the first organised soccer association for Coloureds, the Western Province Football Association (WPFA), was founded in Maitland. It was quickly followed by the Stellenbosch and District Union in 1906. Breakaways then occurred forming first the Cape Peninsular FA (out of the WPFA) and then, from a split in the latter, the Independant Soccer League (later renamed Alliance).⁸ These four units amalgamated in 1924 to initiate the Western Province Coloured Football Board, which was renamed the Western Province Football Board when the Western Province Indian Football Association (WPIFA) joined in the 1940s.⁹

The institution's initial purpose and framework, as a super-structure for semi-autonomous local Coloured leagues, did not fundamentally alter until its closure in 1991. In this administrative method, termed the 'unit system', teams did not affiliate to the Board directly; instead they affiliated to an association or unit, such as Cape District, Metropolitan or

⁵ For further discussion, See Lloyd Hill, "Football as Code: the social diffusion of 'soccer' in South Africa" in Alegi and Bolsmann (ed.), *South Africa and the Global Game*, 12-29.

⁶ Various, *Fields of Play*, 59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁸ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-12-1-1, Written Document, c.1989. The association is twice referred to as the Independant Soccer League. It is unknown if this is a typographical error.

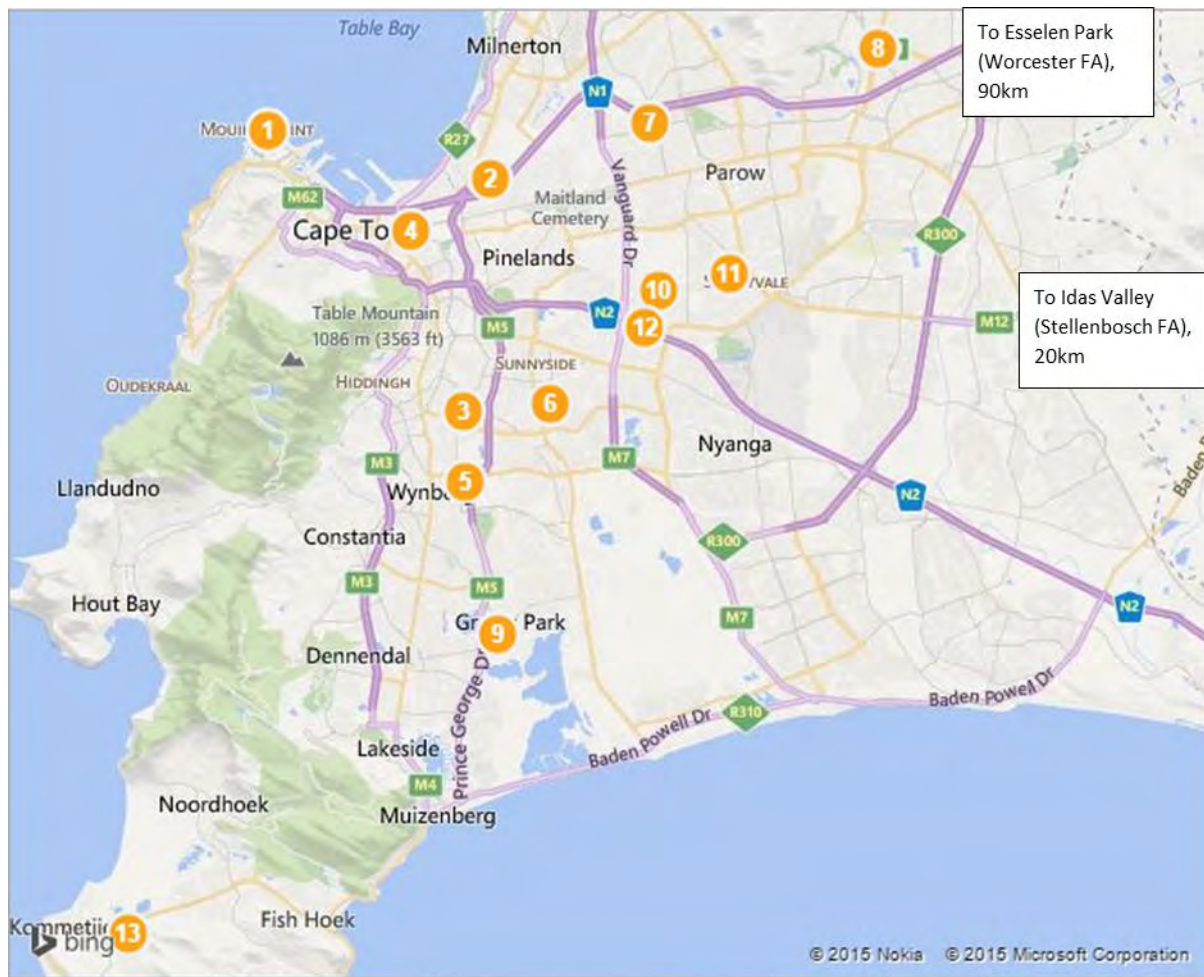
⁹ *Ibid.*

Northerns, under whose auspices they played league games. On the eve of the Double Standards affair, the WPFb had become the largest Coloured sports organisation in the peninsula with 12 member units (whose names and major grounds are noted in Figures (i) and (ii)) comprising at least 14 366 members.¹⁰ Each of the units acted on a semi-independent basis and generally only played each other in the Maggot Trophy. The competition, named after WPFb founder Henry Maggot, shifted at various times between an inter-unit competition, wherein each unit picked its best players to represent its association, and an inter-club version, which pitted each unit league's champions against each other. The Maggot Trophy was always played in a league format. After 1980 the Virginia Challenge Cup, an inter-unit cup competition was also introduced.¹¹ Since Sunday play was largely outlawed and Fridays and Mondays were reserved for White and Coloured professional teams respectively, unit league matches generally took place on Saturdays. On an administrative level, the Board worked on a democratic basis wherein each unit delegate, along with members of the WPFb executive, received one vote.

By 1977, the Metropolitan Union and the Northerns FA had both moved from their original locations. The Metropolitan Union had originally played its matches at Green Point Common and drew its playing strength from Sea Point, the Bo-Kaap and District Six, but due to the impact of forced removals and the Common being declared a White area in 1968, relocated to Bonteheuwel in the late 1960s. Northerns suffered a similar fate; at around the same time, the unit moved from its base in Goodwood to Bishop Lavis. The movement of Metropolitan and Northerns represented the first of many attempts by the WPFb to deal with the unrelenting destabilising effects of forced removals. The continued mass migration of Coloureds to the Cape Flats continued to beset the WPFb deep into the 1980s.

¹⁰ Football was the highest participation sport amongst Coloureds in the region (second was rugby with c. 8 000, cricket had 3 760). Clare Digby, *A Focus on the Extent of Organized Sporting Activities among the 'Coloured' People of the Cape Town Peninsula* (Urban Problems Research Unit Working Paper, University of Cape Town, 1977), 7.

¹¹ Named after the sponsors of the competition, the winemaker Virginia.



1. **Green Point Common** – Metropolitan pre-1969, also used by Alliance, Cosmopolitan League and WPFA
2. **Royal Road Sports Complex** – WPFA
3. **Rosmead Sports Ground** – Alliance FA
4. **Shelley Street Sports Field** – Cosmopolitan League and used by WPFA
5. **William Herbert Sports Ground** – Cape and District FA
6. **Turfhall Sports Fields** – Cape FA
7. **Goodwood** – Northerns FA (pre- c.1970)
8. **Bellville** – Central FA
9. **Grassy Park** – South Peninsula FA
10. **Bonteheuvel** – Metropolitan (post 1969)
11. **Bishop Lavis** – Northerns (post c.1970)
12. **Heideveld Sports Forum** – Cape Flats FA
13. **Ocean View** – Ocean View FA

Figure (i): Units circa 1977.

Unit	Date Joined	Primary Ground	Area	Map Ref.
Western Province Football Association (WPFA)	1924	Royal Road Sports Complex	Maitland	2
Alliance Football Association	1924	Rosmead Sports Ground	Claremont	3
Cape and District Football Association.	1930	William Herbert Sports Ground	Wynberg	5
Cape Football Association	1943	Turfhall Sports Fields	Athlone	6
Central Union	1956	N/A	Bellville	8
South Peninsula Football Association	1969	N/A	Grassy Park	9
Metropolitan Union	1931 ¹²	N/A	Bonteheuwel	10
Northerns Football Association	1951	N/A	Bishop Lavis	11
Cape Flats Football Association	1973	Heideveld Sports Forum	Heideveld	12
Ocean View Football Association	1975	N/A	Ocean View & Simon's Town	13
Stellenbosch and District Union	1924	Idas Valley	Stellenbosch	East
Worcester Football Association	1974	Esselen Park	Worcester	North East

Figure (ii): Main Fields pre-1977.

¹² UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-12-1-1, Written Document, c.1989. Document claims Metropolitan joined in 1931 (when it was founded), but also claims that in 1943 it was not part of the WPFB. Reasons Unknown.

This structure was employed as part of the WPFB's stated goal:

To promote, foster and control professional football and amateur Association football in the Western Province.¹³

While the constitution made no reference to race and the organisation was officially non-racial, implicitly this meant Coloured football. Individual Whites, Africans and Indians did become members of the organisation and the Western Province Indian Football Association was an intermittent associate. However, for reasons detailed later, throughout its existence the WPFB's membership remained predominantly Coloured and its Executive almost exclusively so. The culture and Institutional Logics remained rooted within this community. The Board is therefore treated in this study as a Coloured institution.

Just as the WPFB remained a predominantly Coloured institution, it also continued to be male-dominated. Apart from Sylvia Jeftha, who became the first female delegate to the WPFB's national governance unit the SASF in 1976,¹⁴ the Board minutes show no evidence of any female delegates. The extant sources suggest that, apart from Cape District who established a women's league in 1981, no units had female affiliates.¹⁵ The intrigues and preoccupations of the WPFB often reflected a male-orientated world view. For instance, the biggest issue in crowd problems at the William Herbert Sports Ground was described as 'the language and behaviour of women spectators.'¹⁶ While it should be noted that the WPFB was a male-centric institution, the paucity of women's organisations and the dearth of evidence surrounding Coloured women's football makes it difficult to come to any conclusions other than the existence of a discrepancy. With this in mind, while

¹³ The words 'professional football and' were only added to the constitution in 1971. UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-2-1, WPFB minute books, 21/3/71.

¹⁴ "Bid to Topple Henkel a Failure", *Cape Herald*, 17/4/76.

¹⁵ "Women in on Soccer Act", *Cape Herald*, 4/4/81.

¹⁶ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 8/9/77. This situation was not unique to the WPFB. Beauty contests were regular events at FPL games and SACOS never had an affiliated women's football organisation.

this study accepts a fundamental gender bias, it will not attempt or be able to draw conclusions on gender relations.

There is little evidence that by the period in question Coloured males attached any peculiar significance to football. While the names of early clubs, such as Yorkshire FC, provide evidence that the initial take-up of the sport by Coloureds was connected to attempts to assimilate into White working-class society, it is unclear whether this remained true by the 1970s. Whereas on the Rand the sport became increasingly connected to the African working-class,¹⁷ in the Western Cape it was not intimately connected to any racial group; the participation level between Whites, Coloureds, Africans and Indians was broadly similar. Within the WPFB context, while connections to its English origins remained, not least through the appropriation of English club names,¹⁸ the sport was never discussed as a White game. Evidence suggests that football was viewed as no more or less connected to Coloureds than any other racial group. Within the Coloured community, the game cut across class and religious lines; the higher-class Stephanians (Alliance), the lower-class Norway Parks (WPFA), the Muslim Bluebells (Cape District) and the Christian St Athens (Cape FA) all enthusiastically took up the sport.

The Coloured view of particular sports was divided from the implicit connotations evident in the White community. Within White circles football was connected to the English-speaking working-class and cricket to a British, imperial elite.¹⁹ In the Coloured community the relationship between the two sports was more intimate. Organisations such as the Cape District Board of Control²⁰ made their fields available to cricket and football for six months a year respectively. This led to a particularly high crossover of players and administrators between the two sports. For instance Matt Seegers, Chairman of the WPFB until 1971, was also the Vice-President of the Western Province Cricket Board (WPCB). While the

¹⁷ See Alegi, *Laduma!*

¹⁸ See Farred, "Theatre of Dreams".

¹⁹ See Bruce K. Murray and Goolam Vahed (ed.), *Empire & Cricket: The South African Experience, 1884-1914* (South Africa, UNISA Press, 2009).

²⁰ Of which the Cape District FA was an affiliate.

culture of the WPFB did retain some representations of earlier assimilationist tendencies, by this period the sport of football had no distinct associations in the Coloured community. The peculiarities of the WPFB compared to other Coloured sports organisations must therefore be viewed as representative of institutional differences rather than the unique nature of the sport.

The Governance Units of the WPFB

The WPFB, as an institution, influenced its units and members 'toward a pattern of coordinated and effective behavior',²¹ but a concomitant process was influencing the Board in a similar manner. The WPFB was part of a national 'non-racial' football and sports structure which controlled and affected the workings of the Board – see Figure (iii) for the national structure of the WPFB.

The WPFB's direct Governance Unit was the South African Soccer Federation (SASF). The structure of the Federation was similar to that of the WPFB. Each provincial associate of the SASF provided delegates for Biennial meetings who decided policy on a democratic basis. In terms of numbers, the WPFB was by far the largest affiliate of the SASF²² and it was treated as a source of shame whenever Western Province was unable to annex the annual SASF inter-provincial tournament.²³

²¹ Simon, *Administrative Behavior*, 2.

²² "Double Standards Headache for Board", *Cape Herald*, 15/9/79.

²³ Lennie Kleintjies, "WP again fail to win Federation Cup", *Cape Argus*, 21/9/82.

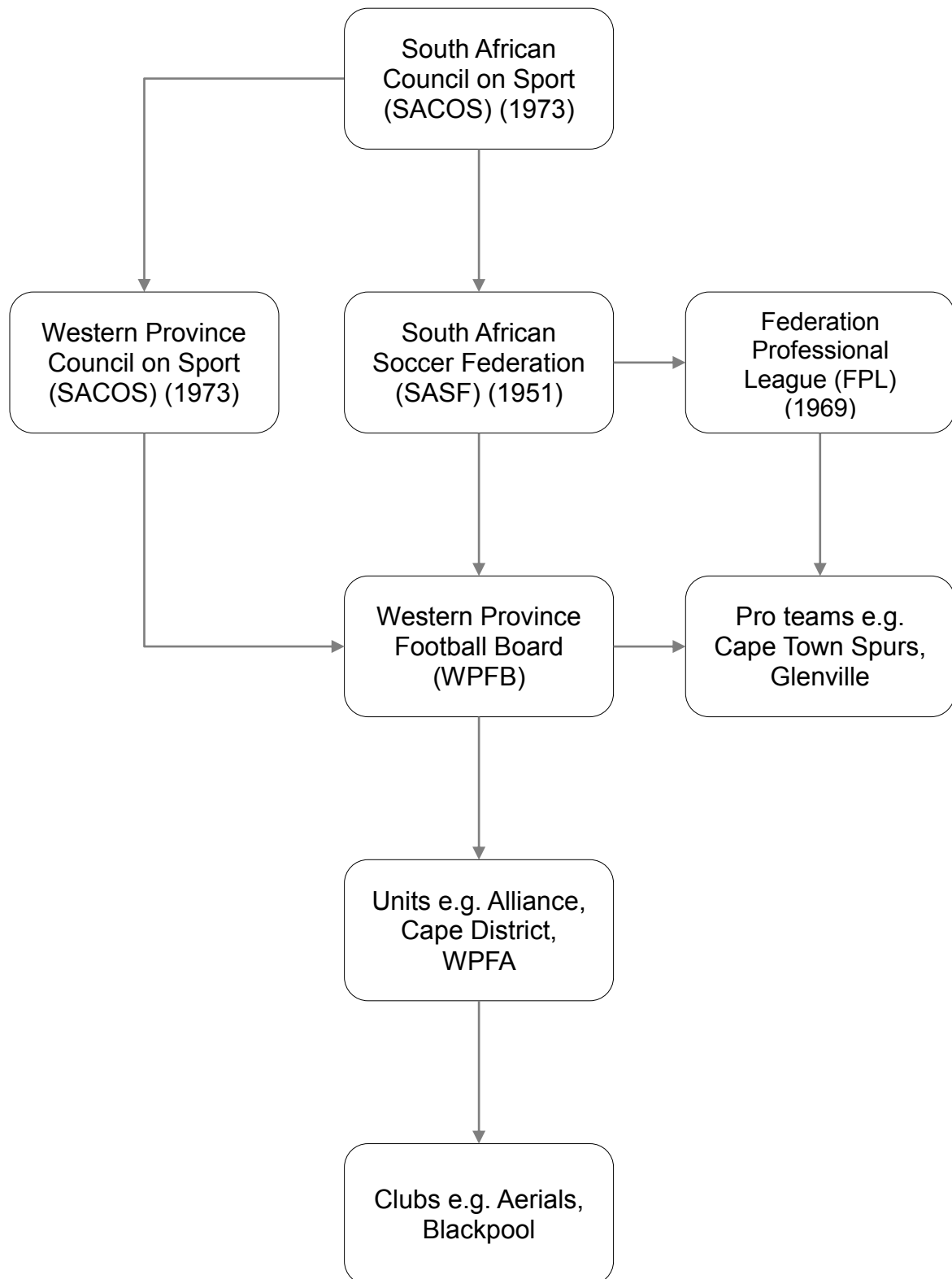


Figure (iii): National Structure of WPFB Football.

The Federation was founded in 1951 by an amalgamation of the South African African Football Association (SAAFA), South African Coloured Football Association (SACFA)²⁴ and South African Indian Football Association (SAIFA).²⁵ The genesis of the Federation had come from the WPFB itself; it was the brainchild of A.J. Albertyn, vice-President of SACFA and Chairman of the Board.²⁶ In the 1960s, as playing fields in Transvaal were increasingly re-allocated from the SASF, the majority of Africans left the organisation and joined the South African Bantu Football Association.²⁷ From then on the SASF remained a predominantly Coloured and Indian organisation.

The SASF often claimed to have been founded on the principle of non-racialism. No evidence was found, however, of the Federation interfering to end the existence of clauses banning 'Natives and Muslims' within several units of the WPFB, including Cape District, Alliance and the WPGA. The SASF only interfered in Board affairs when its authority as the leader of 'non-racial' football was at stake. It was this perceived role that gave the SASF hope of achieving its long-term goal to join FIFA and represent South Africa in international competitions at the expense of the White Football Association of South Africa (FASA).²⁸

This goal meant that the SASF became involved in national politics to an extent its provincial units did not. The WPFB was only committed to 'promote, foster and control' football in Western Province and had little interest in the machinations of FIFA politics. Right into the 1970s the Board steadfastly opposed what it viewed as the intrusion of 'politics' into sport; a 1975 Board meeting which censured the Federation Executive termed the root cause of the SASF-WPFB dispute to be 'politics bedevilling our sport'.²⁹

²⁴ The WPFB had previously been a SACFA affiliate.

²⁵ Alegi, *Laduma!*, 107.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Later renamed the South African National Football Association (SANFA).

²⁸ See Alegi, *Laduma!*, 111-3.

²⁹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 23/2/75.

The separate priorities of the two organisations spilled out during the Double Standards affair.

The Board's disinterest in the SASF's position towards FIFA was reflective of the institution's widespread antagonism towards professionalism. Until 1971, the WPFB constitution only made reference to amateur football and there remained a strong divide between amateur and professional levels.³⁰ An early professional team, Cape Ramblers, who played in the South African Soccer League (SASL) (1961-5), had its members ostracised by the WPFB. This was despite the fact that Ramblers was largely made up of players from Aerials FC and the Alliance Union.³¹ The Board did establish its own team, Cape Town Spurs, for the SASF-administered Federation Professional League's (FPL) inaugural 1969 season, but divides remained. Despite winning the league seven times in the twelve seasons until its sale in 1982, there were strong and sustained calls for the Board to relinquish its control and financial support to Spurs almost every year.³² While Durban regularly provided seven or eight FPL clubs, the Western Cape for the majority of the period had just two: Spurs and the semi-autonomous Glenville.³³ The WPFB, despite its ownership of Cape Town Spurs, retained a stronger commitment to the amateur than the professional code.

The divide in priorities between the SASF and the WPFB was dwarfed by an even deeper gulf between the Board and the SASF's governance unit: the South African Council on Sport (SACOS). SACOS was established in 1973 with an initial purpose to provide a common front for all non-racial sportsmen.³⁴ Situations in different sports varied, but the organisation drew its strength largely from the Coloured and Indian populations. In

³⁰ *Ibid.*, MCH82-2-1, 21/3/71.

³¹ Interview with Joe Schaffers, Cape Town, conducted by author, 11/2/15.

³² See UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82, WPFB minute books, 1972, 16/11/72, 17/7/75, 1/10/78 etc.

³³ The short-lived Cape Town United team, which was part of the FPL in 1974 and 1975 before attempting to join the NPSL in 1976, was not sponsored by the Board due to concerns over 'poaching' players from the other two teams. UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 5/5/74.

³⁴ Koonyaditse, *The Politics of South African Football*, 37.

SACOS's early years, in the absence of an affiliated rugby or cricket union, football drove organisational policy; Norman Middleton, the long-time head of the SASF was SACOS president between 1973 and 1977. In the years under Middleton, SACOS negotiated with other sporting bodies on the grounds 'that sport transcended race and politics'.³⁵ However in 1977, in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprisings, Black Consciousness and a growing non-collaborationist movement, the organisation turned towards a new Challenger, South African Cricket Board (SACB) President Hassan Howa.³⁶ Howa, with his coining of the phrase 'no normal sport in an abnormal society',³⁷ contended that it was 'impossible to separate politics from sport in (Apartheid) South Africa'.³⁸ It was under Howa's leadership that SACOS implemented the Double Standards resolution.

The Board was, through its affiliation to the SASF, bound by all decisions made by the SACOS Executive. However, the WPFB's antagonism towards politics affecting sport meant that the WPFB-SACOS relationship was often fractious. This relationship was reflected in a growing antagonism towards the SACOS provincial arm, the Western Province Council on Sport (WPCOS or WEPCOS). In 1975, a majority voted against Board affiliation to WPCOS³⁹ and in 1978 ties were formally severed in a unanimous decision.⁴⁰ The WPFB only re-joined in 1982 after the implementation of the Double Standards resolution. Even after the WPFB's return, the relationship remained defined by mutual antagonism.

³⁵ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 56.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 55-58.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 56.

³⁸ *Cape Times*, 18/2/81.

³⁹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 15/5/75. Although affiliation continued due to the lack of a two thirds majority required to reverse a previous decision of the WPFB.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 28/5/78.

The Culture of the WPFB

This structure of the WPFB led to a number of Institutional Logics within the Board that influenced and explained its later decision-making. This was not however reflected in any distinguishable playing style. Teams played in a multitude of ways which loosely reflected global trends. Until the arrival of television to South Africa in 1976, the main connection most Coloureds had to world football was in newspapers and in short clips played before movies at local bioscopes. Joe Schaffers noted their immense popularity and that:

The Avalon Bioscope it had a thing called Movitone News and in Movitone News there would be just a short section on soccer and then it used to feature the games for just a couple of minutes, but guys used to go to that ... never mind what movie was playing and learn from that. So that was how we learnt our soccer.⁴¹

Other than this, global trends were filtered through the two professional White Capetonian clubs, Cape Town City and Hellenic. The two clubs were able to call on foreign players and managers such as Frank Lord, Gordon Banks, Roger Hunt, Booby Moore and Geoff Hurst who disseminated British/European tactics.⁴² Irrespective of relations and attitudes towards South African Whites, English football remained regarded as the standard to aspire to and was greatly admired by many in the WPFB. In 1977 all Board matches were postponed for a weekend so its members could watch the FA Cup Final.⁴³

Within the administrative sphere however there were several definable common values, norms and beliefs. The first Institutional Logic was the use of English in official documents. Coloureds were bilingual; while many higher-class individuals spoke English, the majority of lower-class Coloureds spoke Afrikaans or a peculiar Coloured dialect termed 'Kaapse'.

⁴¹ Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15.

⁴² See Raath, *Soccer Through*, 125-75.

⁴³ Lennie Kleintjies, "Glenville Press the Panic Button", *Cape Herald*, 17/5/77.

Despite this, Board meetings and indeed all official unit meetings, were administered exclusively in English. This often led to confusion as, while administrators used English in the meeting minutes and other official documents, many of the participants would speak in Afrikaans.⁴⁴

Board administration also emphasised order and the constitution. While most officials were less pernicky than long-time President of Alliance, Sydney Lotter, whom Ebrahim Abdullah termed 'Mr. Constitution',⁴⁵ there was a general interest in law and order. This was reflected in an obsession with the dress of delegates. In 1969 one of the most debated issues was whether or not 'safari suits' were acceptable attire for Board meetings.⁴⁶ The motion allowing them was passed, but was rescinded in 1975.⁴⁷ This preoccupation of the administrators was often subverted by players who did not share their fixation. For instance Farouk Abrahams notes that for his club in the Cape Flats FA, the constitution read that ties must be worn to meetings. It did not however specify over what the ties must be worn and many players therefore turned up to meetings wearing ties over t-shirts.⁴⁸

The final common feature was a connection of football to a moral duty. The sport was viewed not just as a game, but as a social responsibility that helped uplift the community. Joe Schaffers and Ebrahim Abdullah, in their interviews with the author, both explicitly placed football in direct opposition to gangs and criminal activity.⁴⁹ A *Cape Herald* article on football in the Cape Flats summarised the perceived importance of football:

⁴⁴ Interview with Ahmed Fransman and Fanie Stuurman, Cape Town, conducted by Virgil Slade and Tina Smith, 21/5/08.

⁴⁵ Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, Cape Town, conducted by author, 11/2/15.

⁴⁶ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-2-1, WPFB minute books, 5/5/69.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, MCH82-15-2-2, 23/2/75.

⁴⁸ Farouk Abrahams, *Surviving African Football*, 9.

⁴⁹ Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15 and Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, 11/2/15.

Before Cape Flats FA was founded, the township had several gangs of idle, frustrated youngsters. Gangs vanished as soon as we were able to provide the only social authority.⁵⁰

Whether or not football was effective in achieving these lofty goals, the link is so often mentioned in the press, official meetings and interviews that it can be concluded social uplift was an important motivation for many in undertaking football administration. Football's connection to a moral undertaking added to the perceived importance of the sport within Coloured communities.

All three of these 'norms' reflected a strong association between WPFBA administration and the outlook and preoccupations of the Coloured middle-class. This group represented the Dominant body of actors in the Board, in that their 'actions and interests' had an undue influence over the institution.⁵¹ The group's attitudes were firmly rooted within the formation of a distinct Coloured identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The origins of Coloureds as a separate group are heavily disputed.⁵² However, there is a broad historiographical consensus that by the early-mid twentieth century the term Coloured was generally accepted by both those inside and outside the identified community. This identity was heavily associated with an 'intermediate status in the South African racial hierarchy' and a 'position of relative privilege'.⁵³ Sociologist Zimitri Erasmus described Coloured identity as:

⁵⁰ "Cape Flats FA React over Ploughed Fields", *Cape Herald*, 15/9/73.

⁵¹ Doug McAdam and W. Richard Scott, "Organizations and Movements", 17.

⁵² Various historians disagree on the extent to which the identity should be seen as a self-expression or as applied upon the group from outside. For the self-expression view, see Adhikari, *Not White Enough*. For applied from outside see Gavin Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: a history of South African "coloured" politics* (Claremont, St Martin's Press, 1987), 1-7 and Roy du Pré, *Separate but Unequal: The 'Coloured' People of South Africa - A Political History* (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1994), 3. For a middle path see Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town: group identity and social practice, 1875-1902* (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1995).

⁵³ Adhikari, *Not White Enough*, 10-1.

For me, growing up coloured meant knowing that I was *not only* not white, but *less than white: not only* not black but *better than black* (as we referred to African people).⁵⁴

‘Colouredness’, whether seen as a self-expression or as a term attributed to the group from outside, was defined by its relation to Africans and Whites. Generally perceived to be of a mixed racial origin, the community initially became defined only by the combination of a number of loose associations, including skin colour, socio-economic position and cultural practices.⁵⁵ These generally accepted identifiers, while vague, were used both from within and outside to define a distinctive identity.

The term Coloured, while given a legal basis in the Population Registration Act of 1950, remained defined only as ‘a person who is not a white person or a native’.⁵⁶ The classification remained based on the vague standards of ‘appearance and general acceptance and repute’.⁵⁷ This ambiguity led to the identifiers for ‘Colouredness’ being applied within the community for means of prestige and entry into a higher socio-economic position. The middle-class became heavily associated not just with professional occupations e.g. teachers and lawyers, but with physical features and practices that made them ‘more White’: lighter skin, straight hair, the worship of Christianity, the use of English and the application of European cultural practices. Lower-class Coloureds were generally identified with traits that made them less distinct from the African community: darker skin, curly hair and the use of ‘Kaapse’.

⁵⁴ Zimitri Erasmus, “Introduction: Re-Imagining Coloured Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa” in Zimitri Erasmus (ed.), *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* (Cape Town, Kwela Books, 2001), 1. Also cited in Adhikari, *Not White Enough*, 10.

⁵⁵ See Mohammed Adhikari, “God, Jan van Riebeeck and the “Coloured” people: The Anatomy of a South African Joke.” *South African Discourse* 4 (1992), 4-10.

⁵⁶ Population Registration Act no. 30, 1950. Cited in Michael Besten, “‘We are the original inhabitants of this land’: Khoe-San identity in post-apartheid South Africa” in Adhikari, *Burdened*, 137. Also see *ibid.*, 135-155, for discussion of classifications of Khoe-San, Griquas, Hottentots and Bushmen and Namaqua.

⁵⁷ Muriel Horrel (ed.), *Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa* (Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1978), 16.

The Board's culture and Institutional Logics were heavily associated with this middle-class identity. The connection of football to social uplift and the obsession with order and constitution has many parallels to the Christian missionary culture within South Africa of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵⁸ This can be viewed as part of a wider attempt by the Coloured middle-classes to imbue their community with European notions of 'respectability'. In doing so they initially sought to distinguish themselves from Africans and to attempt to 'assimilate' into White society.⁵⁹ While by the 1970s the Coloured classification had become increasingly defined and distinct which called into question the efficacy of this ideology, the Coloured middle-classes continued to be connected to this outlook.

The Dominant position of the Coloured middle-classes within the WPFB was reproduced, strengthened and protected by a variety of methods. Some of these were based in practical matters. Official positions required time, money and access to transport that was beyond the material realities of many lower-class Coloureds. Those in particular 'middle-class' jobs were also preferred for certain administrative positions. Understandably those with financial expertise were often selected for treasurer duties. For instance Rashied Cloete was nominated to be Treasurer of Cape District due to his job at a firm of chartered accountants.⁶⁰ On a cruder level, Joe Schaffers noted that often anyone with a car would be made captain of the team, on account of the fact that the rarity and importance of car ownership meant an owner would always be selected.⁶¹ Being captain of a team would generally lead to becoming a delegate to unit meetings and the possibility of entering unit officialdom.

The association of the Coloured middle classes with Board administration was not however unchallenged. These Challenger groups, while they had less immediate say in the affairs

⁵⁸ Cecile Badenhorst, "New Traditions, Old Struggles: Organized Sport for Johannesburg's Africans, 1920-50." *Culture, Sport, Society* 6, 2-3 (2003), 116-43.

⁵⁹ Adhikari, *Not White Enough*, 8-10.

⁶⁰ Interview with Rashied Cloete, Cape Town, conducted by Francois Cleophas and Virgil Slade, 7/4/08.

⁶¹ Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15.

and culture of the institution, nevertheless held an important role as an alternative to the Dominants. These groups became particularly important during the Double Standards affair when they used the institutional destabilisation 'for the realization of their interests'.⁶²

The first group of Challengers in the WPFB was 'new money' Coloureds. While Coloureds still faced pervasive political and socio-economic discrimination in the 1970s, in economic terms the group made real if limited gains. Goldin detailed the position of Coloureds in the period:

Within the Coloured population the most noteworthy change was the growth in white-collar clerical and service employment and the declining relative share of Coloured employment in the lower manual and unskilled occupations.⁶³

The increase in the numbers of 'white-collar' Coloureds meant that more and more WPFB members could claim to have the 'time, money and access to transport' that had previously precluded them from official positions. This allowed them to challenge the old Dominants within units. The nature of the 'challenge' was traditional in that this group tended not to fundamentally question the system. Owing in part to their new-found financial prowess, they usually became a delegate to unit meetings, before moving on to an administrative role within the unit.

The second method of 'challenge' can be found at the unit level. By the constitution of the WPFB all units were created equal, but in reality some were more equal than others. Units varied in terms of size, financial prowess and standard of football. On the eve of the Double Standards affair, the Dominant units can be identified as those regarded as higher class: Cape District, Stellenbosch and to a lesser extent Alliance dominated Board competitions. Alliance, despite its long history as a Dominant, faded in power throughout

⁶² McAdam and Scott, "Organizations and Movements", 19.

⁶³ Ian Goldin, *Making Race: The Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa* (Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman, 1987), 174.

the period in question. Due largely to the impact of forced removals, the association closed its doors in 1985. All three units were strongly associated with the Coloured middle-class and financially were incredibly powerful.⁶⁴ Cape District was generally viewed as the most powerful unit of all, due to its facilities at the William Herbert Sports Ground in Wynberg.⁶⁵ The 'Mardi Gras' celebrations were held at William Herbert every year and brought in significant windfalls of cash. The Cape District Board of Control, the Cape District FA's governing organisation, was not only able to use its money to buy the ground from the Council, but also significantly improve the facilities. In 1967, at a time when few Coloured grounds even had changing rooms, Cape District was able to construct a multi-purpose sports hall and purchase the old floodlights that had been used at Hartleyvale.⁶⁶ The ground was the premier Coloured football venue in the Western Cape until Council improvements to Athlone Stadium were completed in the early 1970s.

The association of Alliance and Cape District with the Coloured middle class was for a long time enforced by what was known as 'passing out parades' wherein potential applicants would be checked for eligibility. While in some units this meant little more than agreeing to the rules of the constitution, in Alliance and Cape District it meant checking on skin colour, religion and the straightness of hair. Gamja Norton, an Indian Muslim, stated that at Alliance:

apartheid was very forcibly in within the organisation as well ... where they were looking at your hair. And also basically they didn't allow Muslims to be involved in the sport and I actually had to change my name to be registered as George.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Although it should be pointed out there was significant variance between teams within units.

⁶⁵ Previously, Princeton Sports Ground. It was re-named in honour of long-time Cape District FA chairman, William Herbert. Herbert while retired from official positions by the 1970s remained a totemic figure within Cape District and the WPFB as a whole.

⁶⁶ Various, *Fields of Play*, 57.

⁶⁷ Interview with Gamja Norton, Cape Town, conducted by Virgil Slade and Tina Smith, 16/5/08.

Norton also notes that Alliance President Sydney Lotter would use the infamous ‘pencil test’ well into the 1960s and that he would ‘humiliate’ prospective applicants.⁶⁸ The links to Apartheid classifications can also be viewed in what Norton termed the use of ‘football names’, i.e. the ‘Christian’ name George. The use of a different name to divorce oneself from old associations was often used by those who were looking to ‘pass for White’ in official registrations. The similarities in the methods adopted by Alliance and those of the authorities were not lost on the players who termed Lotter ‘Ike the kommandant’.⁶⁹

There is no evidence that the WPFB Executive ruled against this kind of discrimination. Instead, discrimination was tacitly allowed by the Board who termed it a ‘domestic affair’ for units and teams.⁷⁰ The practice of racial ‘passing out’ at unit level did recede in the 1970s with ‘passing out parades’ largely morphing into little more than the reading of the constitution, however the practice continued at club level. Terrence Fredericks and Joe Schaffers noted that this was true at the Alliance-affiliated Ridgeville FC:

TF: When I grew up, there was another soccer club, that soccer club, name was Ridgeville.

JS: Ridgeville, yes.

TF: You had to have a sharp nose.

JS: And straight hair.

TF: You had to have straight hair.⁷¹

These clubs often used their privileged economic position to attract players from other clubs by offering to buy them togs or to waive their subsidy fees.⁷² These sort of practices

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* The pencil test was a crude technique used by the Apartheid authorities to distinguish whether a person was Coloured or African. The pencil was placed into the hair and if it stayed in (due to curls), then the person was classified as African and if not then the person was viewed as Coloured.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ “Monday Games Must Stop Now”, *Cape Herald*, 31/5/75.

⁷¹ Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15.

ensured that units such as Alliance and Cape District were still identified as 'elitist' into the mid-1980s.⁷³ Discrimination within the Board continued to exist, but it was swept under the carpet. The Board system of not interfering in non-footballing matters was maintained during the Double Standards affair.

The Challengers to the Dominant 'middle class' units can be recognised as new, less established and/or perceived lower class units. The WPFA, based at the Royal Road sports complex in Maitland, despite being the oldest unit of the Board was regarded as lower class and was often excluded from the highest level of Board competition in the 1960s. Fanie Stuurman noted that the association was looked down upon because while other associations' administrators were teachers and lawyers, in Maitland 'there weren't people like that'.⁷⁴ Both Stuurman and Fransman suggest that this discrimination barred WPFA players from being selected for professional or WPFB teams.⁷⁵ In a similar fashion, members of the Cape FA, based at Turfhall, were colloquially referred to as 'bosbessies' or bushberries.⁷⁶ The Maggot Trophy throughout the 1960s ran on an inter-unit system which had two divisions with no promotion or relegation. The first division had units such as Alliance, Cape District and Stellenbosch while the second involved the WPFA, Central, Cape FA and Metropolitan. Anger at the division of units came to a head in 1969 when Central, WPFA and Metropolitan refused to play in protest.⁷⁷ While class concerns underlined the dispute, sporting concerns were also apparent. Barney Leendertz, the chairman of Bellville-based Central, noted that his only demand was for a 'system of play

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Interview with Colin Daniels, Cape Town, conducted by Francois Cleophas, 1/4/08.

⁷⁴ Interview with Ahmed Fransman and Fanie Stuurman, 21/5/08.

⁷⁵ The Board took part every year in an SASF organised provincial cup called the Kajee Cup.

⁷⁶ Interview with Second Focus Group, Vincent Baartjes, Cape Town, conducted by Francois Cleophas, 24/10/07.

⁷⁷ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-2-1, WPFB minute books, 12/6/69.

which does not discriminate against players'.⁷⁸ The system was replaced with one division in 1970.

The impact of forced removals led to the emergence of another group of Challengers, the new units established in the rapidly growing towns on the Cape Flats. By 1979, in order to facilitate residential segregation approximately 150 000 people had been forcibly removed under the Group Areas Act, 1950; the vast majority of these were Coloureds and the vast majority of those moved to the Flats.⁷⁹ While initially this movement was catered for by the movement of Northerns and Metropolitan, the two units worst affected by forced removals, by 1972 the WPFB was aware that it needed 'to cater for' the new unions that were being formed.⁸⁰ In 1973 the Cape Flats FA, based in Heideveld, became the first organisation of this type to become a full member of the Board. The association had inauspicious beginnings; the unit was served an edict in 1973 reminding it that all players must play with football boots on.⁸¹ However, behind a rapidly growing membership, Cape Flats swiftly grew in stature and in 1976 the association's biggest club, Everton, annexed the Maggot Trophy.⁸² Following the Cape Flats FA's success, a host of other associations, among them the Mitchells Plain FA and Hanover Park, linked up with the WPFB in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Neither of these clusters of Challengers fundamentally questioned the system or outlook of the Board. Challenges stemmed predominantly from particular groups attempting to establish themselves in official positions or within the existing Board structure. The Double Standards resolution, however, predominantly came out of a third Challenger faction – a group that analysed events by their relationships outside of narrow institutional confines, in

⁷⁸ " 'Don't Blame Us' Says Rebel Leader", *Cape Herald*, 14/6/69.

⁷⁹ Vivian Bickford-Smith, "Mapping Cape Town: From Slavery to Apartheid" in Sean Field (ed.), *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town* (Cape Town, David Phillip, 2001), 24.

⁸⁰ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-6-5, WPFB minute books, 20/7/72.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 12/7/73.

⁸² "Everton Win a Thriller", *Cape Herald*, 7/9/76.

politics. This faction, heavily associated with the Muslim community, was formed out of events in the early 1960s.

Coloureds, viewed by the Apartheid state as 'a residual statutory population category',⁸³ were heavily divided. The 1950 Population Registration Act divided the Coloured community into seven sub-categories: Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Indian, Chinese, 'other Asiatic', and 'other Coloured'.⁸⁴ The second group, Cape Malays, were generally identified as descendants of Indonesian slaves brought over to the Cape in the seventeenth century.⁸⁵ Malays, an officially separate group, were predominantly Muslim⁸⁶ and had different customs, dress and food to Cape Coloureds. These divides led to a particularly pervasive rift within the Coloured community. Several units including Cape District and Alliance⁸⁷ had clauses within their constitution that excluded 'Natives and Muslims'.⁸⁸ This meant that until the late 1950s Muslims largely played in their own unit, the Western Province Moslem Board. This situation was not peculiar to football; rugby and cricket were divided along similar lines.⁸⁹

The rift had racial, religious and class connotations. Muslims were stereotyped as poor, 'Kaapse'-speaking and as having darker skin. This led to a general perception that they were lower-class. Dougy Herbert asserted:

I think even the Moslem African thing was more class than racial.⁹⁰

Herbert based his belief on his experiences with Battswood (Cape District) in the late 1950s. The club, despite the laws of the unit, had several Muslim players (who used

⁸³ Du Pré, *Separate*, 4.

⁸⁴ Adhikari, *Not White Enough*, 14.

⁸⁵ For more discussion of classifications, see Shamil Jeppie, "Re-classifications: Coloured, Malay, Muslim" in Erasmus (ed.), *Coloured by History*, 80-97.

⁸⁶ While most Cape Coloureds were Christian.

⁸⁷ Other associations including the Metropolitan FA seem to have had similar clauses, but these seem to have fallen away in the 1950s. See Interview with Second Focus Group, 24/10/07.

⁸⁸ See Various, *Fields of Play*, 58.

⁸⁹ For rugby, see Nauright, "Masculinity, Muscular Islam". For cricket, see André Odendaal, *The blue book: a history of Western Province cricket, 1890-2011* (Auckland Park, Fanele, 2012).

⁹⁰ Interview with First Focus Group, Dougy Herbert, Cape Town, conducted by Francois Cleophas, 11/10/07.

'football names'). All of these players were however 'upper (class), that was English speaking'.⁹¹ The exclusion of Muslims was not only a reflection of religious divides, but of the association of middle-class culture with the Dominant units and their administrators.

The clauses within the constitutions of Alliance and Cape District initially seem to have been enacted at the behest of the Western Province Moslem Board itself.⁹² However, by the 1950s they had become highly controversial. While officialdom of the Moslem Board remained Muslim, the unit had changed its name to the Cosmopolitan Union in 1950 and clubs such as Bluebells had many non-Muslim members.⁹³ Throughout the 1950s the Cosmopolitan Union consistently called on other units to open their 'doors to all players, regardless of race'.⁹⁴

The situation was brought to a head when the Cosmopolitan Union collapsed due to financial difficulties in the late 1950s.⁹⁵ Seeking somewhere to continue playing their sport, Bluebells, a predominantly Muslim club drawing its strength from the area around Batts Road in lower Wynberg, applied to join its local unit, Cape District. Despite the unit ditching the clause in its constitution that barred Muslims and Natives for the 1960/1 season,⁹⁶ Bluebells' application was rejected. That was when Steve Dublin (a long-time proponent of non-racialism) stepped in; his club Duncan Rovers, centred in Duncan Road in upper Wynberg, was 'going to go defunct'.⁹⁷ He approached Cloete and offered to merge the two clubs under the name Duncan Rovers, but with the colours of Bluebells. In the words of Rashied Cloete, 'Mr Herbert⁹⁸ was shocked ... the Bluebells kit that was a shock for the Establishment'.⁹⁹ By 1971, when the club officially adopted the Bluebells name, several

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Interview with Rashied Cloete, 7/4/08.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Cleophas and van der Merwe, "Contradictions", 134.

⁹⁵ Interview with Shelley Street Focus Group, Mohamed Adnan Batchelor, Cape Town, conducted by Francois Cleophas and Tina Smith, 14/11/07.

⁹⁶ Interview with Rashied Cloete, 7/4/08.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Long-time Chairman of Cape District.

⁹⁹ Interview with Rashied Cloete, 7/4/08.

other 'Muslim' clubs had joined the unit and exerted growing influence within Cape District that resulted in Steve Dublin becoming Chairman of the unit in the mid-1970s.

In Alliance the path for another Muslim club, Blackpool, was – at least according to Ebrahim Abdullah – paved by Basil D'Oliveira:

E.A.: he (D'Oliveira) then said because he was a ... icon of this particular association, he then told them if you people do not accept the Blackpool football club in this association, then I will join the Blackpool and I will resign and I will join the Blackpool club. And this made them change their whole view of this whole thing and because of that they accepted Blackpool.¹⁰⁰

Blackpool and Bluebells paved the way for a host of Muslim clubs to join the two units. These clubs thereafter took up Challenger roles both within units and in the WPFb more generally. The nature of them as Challengers was very different to the cases mentioned earlier. While the other groups utilised traditional Board structures, this faction became increasingly attached to politics. While their previous experiences had been motivated at least in part by sporting considerations, Bluebells' perceived history of political struggle attracted political activists to the club.¹⁰¹ Among these was Abie Adams, the future SACOS president.¹⁰² This faction and their stance came to embody 'politicised' decision-making within the Double Standards affair. Their support or otherwise (and underlying motivations) is utilised later to ascertain the level of 'politicisation' within the Board.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, 11/2/15. Basil D'Oliveira, who in 1966 was selected for the England test cricket side, was already a celebrity in the Coloured community in the early 1960s. He had captained the first combined Black South African cricket team to tour overseas in 1957-8 and had scored over eighty centuries in the Coloured South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC). (Jon Gemmell, *The Politics of South African Cricket* (Routledge, London, 2004), 146.) This is not to even mention his bowling figures. He was also an accomplished footballer and had actually captained a WPFb team which beat a White Western Province side 5-1 in 1955. (Latakgomo, *Mzansi Magic*, 95.) When 'Dolly' spoke, those in Coloured sporting circles listened.

¹⁰¹ Cleophas and van der Merwe, "Contradictions", 135.

¹⁰² Interview with Rashied Cloete, 7/4/08.

The WPFB's existing Institutional Settlement, the 'agreement negotiated primarily by the efforts of field dominants (and their internal and external allies) to preserve a status quo that generally serves their interests',¹⁰³ was based around the Coloured middle-classes. There is little evidence that non-racialism played any day-to-day role in Board affairs. By the early 1980s, after the implementation of the Double Standards resolution, the WPFB officially had a strong non-racial policy (even if this was not always followed at grassroots level) and official documents often stressed the WPFB's long history with the ideology. For instance the 1978 Secretarial Report noted that the SASF's 1951 'Non-Racial Platform ... gave birth to SACOS'.¹⁰⁴ This has led some historians to argue that the WPFB and non-racialism were intimately connected. Joe Latakgomo stated:

The development of soccer in the Western Cape...is rooted in the principled quest for non-racial soccer.¹⁰⁵

The experiences of Muslims and the continued association of Dominant WPFB culture with a light-skinned middle class should be enough to repudiate this statement.

Even in the 1970s, there are still many cases of official discrimination within the Board. Indeed Stuurman and Fransman describe a multitude of ways in which they were discriminated against:

A.F.: we were the poor ones and you, you didn't have long hair; they would discriminate on that. You will not get into the Board team because you...

F.S.: your colour is not right and haven't got the right hair....

A.F.: yes it was obvious, you are not English speaking, so you cannot represent.

¹⁰³ McAdam and Scott, "Organizations and Movements", 18.

¹⁰⁴ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 1978 Secretarial Report.

¹⁰⁵ Latakgomo, *Mzansi Magic*, 98.

F.S.: your your mother, your father isn't a teacher....

A.F.: you cannot play with them. Hoekom hulle is 'n bietjie te swart [They are a bit too black].¹⁰⁶

Fransman and Stuurman go on in their interview to accuse Wallace 'Wally' Henkel (Chairman of the WPFB, 1971-81), Matt Seegers (Chairman up to 1971 and later SASF President), Vincent Baartjes (Secretary of the WPFB, 1974-1985, Chairman, 1985-1990) and William Herbert (long-time head of Cape District) of being 'racists'.¹⁰⁷ They claim that discrimination at Cape District did not improve until the 'early eighties'.¹⁰⁸

The Board never tried to implement non-racialism as an Institutional Logic or a value within the institution. Instead it tacitly allowed discrimination to continue to exist at club and unit level and the WPFB's administration retained its association with the middle-classes. The values, norms and beliefs of the institution were founded off the structure of the Board itself and the wider culture of the communities it served. The success or otherwise of the organisation in achieving its goal 'To promote, foster and control professional football and amateur Association football in the Western Province' depended on an asymmetric, flexible system wherein the Executive largely stayed out of 'domestic' (unit and club) affairs.¹⁰⁹ The WPFB's implementation of the Double Standards resolution was undertaken in this context. The reaction, manner and methodology of the Board's response all reflected the WPFB's extant connections to the middle-class Coloured community and the unique structure of the institution. The WPFB however did not exist in a vacuum. This extant state of affairs was destabilised by events sparked by a shift in the outlook of the other football organisations in the Western Cape. This destabilisation led directly to the Double Standards resolution's

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Ahmed Fransman and Fanie Stuurman, 21/5/08.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-2-1, WPFB minute books, 21/3/71.

implementation. To analyse the motives behind the WPFB take-up of the act, these groups must therefore be understood.

Chapter 2 – The Football Structure in the Western Cape

Organizational fields are not generally benign and cooperative arrangements held in place by a sense of duty or honor, although the rhetoric and ideology of their proponents might lead one to think so. Instead, they are set up to benefit their most powerful members ... The most important determinants of that power are the size of the firms and the ability of actors in them to prevent other organizations from entering their fields.¹

The WPFB's implementation of the Double Standards resolution was predicated on an attempt 'to prevent other organizations from entering their fields'. In the wake of failed integration talks, the Board turned to the resolution in order to protect its extant spheres of influence from the other football associations active in the Western Cape. Due to the stratified nature of the Apartheid-era Western Cape, while each of these External Units was de jure non-racial by the mid-1970s, they remained heavily associated with particular racial classifications: the WPFA (Hartleyvale) with Whites, the Western Cape Soccer Association (WCSA) with Africans, and the Western Province Indian Football Association (WPIFA) with Indians.²

Before the integration talks of the mid-late 1970s, each association had largely restricted itself to its own 'racial' field of influence. The WPFB's main concern had been 'rebel' organisations (those without a national Governance Unit)³ who established themselves as rival Coloured football associations.⁴ These small and generally underfunded 'splinter units', while remaining of some concern to the WPFB, in terms of perceived threat faded into the

¹ Neil Fligstein, *The Transformation of Corporate Control* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1990), 6.

² In the same manner that the WPFB retained its Coloured identity, these organisations largely retained their 'racial' connotations and in the interests of clarity will be referred to by their 'racial' markers.

³ For discussion of the term, UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 30/4/78 and interview with Rygate Site Visit, Graham Dirks, Cape Town, conducted by Francois Cleophas, 30/1/08.

⁴ Although many organisations accused of playing 'rebel' soccer later joined the WPFB as units e.g. Hanover Park.

background once the larger and more established ex-‘racial’ organisations shifted to a more outward-looking stance in the late 1970s. The growing influence of the White WPFA (Hartleyvale) in particular created great anxiety within WPFB circles. The Double Standards affair was based around these concerns and therefore these football associations, their aims and outlooks must be understood.

The WPFB’s External Actors: the WPFA (Hartleyvale), the WCSA and the WPIFA

The WPFB’s External Actors were each institutions in their own right and therefore had their own values, beliefs and norms, or Institutional Logics, that defined their organisations and informed their decision making. This position meant that while the WPFA (Hartleyvale), WCSA and the WPFB all had the ultimate goal of controlling amateur (and professional) football in the Western Province, each utilised separate means and methods.

The African WCSA and the White WPFA (Hartleyvale) acted as rival associations to the Board, but the relationship between the WPFB and WPIFA was more complex. While Africans and Whites were clearly defined and identified as distinct groups, the position of Indians vis-à-vis Coloureds was more ambiguous. The official designation of Coloureds as ‘a person who is not a white person or a native’ occasionally allowed Indians to be subsumed within the wider Coloured classification;⁵ until 1961 when a Department of Indian Affairs was established, the Department of Coloured Affairs was responsible for the control and administration of both groups.⁶ The small number of Indians in the Western Cape combined with certain cultural links to Cape Malays made Indian identity less distinct than elsewhere. Many were descendants of Muslim Gujarati traders and sometimes identified

⁵ Population Registration Act no. 30, 1950. Cited in Michael Besten, “We are the original inhabitants” In Adhikari, *Burdened*, 137. Also see essay, 135-155, for discussion of classifications of Khoe-San, Griquas, Hottentots and Bushmen and Namaqua.

⁶ Horrell, *Laws Affecting*, 21-2.

with Cape Malays in pan-Islamic terms.⁷ These links helped lead to a particularly high number of controversial race classification cases in Cape Town.⁸

The complex inter-relationship between Indians and Coloureds meant that the Western Province Indian Football Association's (WPIFA) connection to the WPFB was very different to the WCSA or the WPFA (Hartleyvale). The WPIFA, unlike its White or African counterparts, was a periodic associate of the WPFB and dual affiliation between the organisations was common. The Indian association played its games at Rylands on Sundays, while the Board played its amateur games on Saturdays. This allowed them to use WPFB players. This dual affiliation, while officially illegal, was often overlooked and was practised by Coloureds and Indians. For instance the Daniels brothers, Arthur and Keith, were well-known players in the Alliance League and for Aces United at Rylands.⁹ In affiliating Coloureds, the WPIFA often used 'football names' similarly to how WPFB units affiliated Muslims.¹⁰ The Board's units generally turned a blind eye to this practice; the WPFB Executive had to release a statement in 1977 to reiterate that juniors could not have dual affiliation.¹¹ For the players, the WPIFA was an enticing proposition. The backing of the strong Indian business community gave the Association financial strength and prize money beyond most competitions of the Board.¹² Meanwhile the relatively small size of the Indian population in Cape Town and the fact that most players' primary association remained the WPFB meant the Board never perceived the WPIFA as a threat. WPIFA officialdom, regardless of the mixed racial make-up of the players, remained almost entirely in Indian hands.¹³ The WPIFA was at various times unaffiliated to any national body¹⁴ and at others

⁷ See Mohammed Haron, "The *Muslim News* (1960-1986): Expression of an Islamic Identity in SA", in Louis Brenner (ed.), *Muslim Identity and Social Change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (London, Hurst & Co., 1993), 210-26.

⁸ Vivian Bickford-Smith, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Nigel Worden, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century: An Illustrated Social History*, 158.

⁹ "Take us back plead Soccer Trio", *Cape Herald*, 17/5/77.

¹⁰ Ted Doman, "Who is Bluffing Who", *Cape Herald*, 12/8/72.

¹¹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 12/5/77.

¹² "Indians may ask for use of Hartleyvale", *Cape Herald*, 3/11/73.

¹³ Interview with Second Focus Group, Shoukat Mia, Cape Town, conducted by Francois Cleophas, 24/10/07.

¹⁴ And therefore were classed as 'rebels'.

affiliated to the South African Indian Football Association (SAIFA) until it joined the WPFB as a unit in 1982.¹⁵

In the mid-late 1970s the WPIFA changed its name to the FAWP.¹⁶ While the name change's exact date could not be found, it is likely that it was in the immediate aftermath of the passing of the Double Standards resolution by SACOS in 1977. Shoukat Mia locates its stimulus in the fact that juniors 'could never get into the schools team';¹⁷ after the passing of the resolution, the Western Province Senior Schools Sports Union (WPSSSU) as a SACOS affiliate did not accept members who also played non-SACOS administered sport. The motivation for the name change is unclear. Jasper Raymond locates it in politics:

we concluded that something had to be done to get rid of the old regime because they were totally entrenched in the roots of the apartheid era.¹⁸

The claim is questionable. The name change was little more than cosmetic; the WPIFA had always had integrated teams.¹⁹ Indeed, it seems that the restrictions on the WPIFA from the Double Standards resolution also had an influence. The resolution meant that previously accepted dual affiliations were cracked down upon and players were suspended.²⁰ This fact combined with Mia's testimony suggests that for many the motivation behind the name change and the consequent attempts to join the WPFB was the drain of players ensuing from the Double Standards resolution. As shall be demonstrated with the WPFB's implementation of the resolution, it was as much an attempt to ensure the institution's survival and guarantee the continuation of its football as a political undertaking.

¹⁵ Full membership only in 1984.

¹⁶ It should be noted that the WPFB had removed ethnic markers from its name almost thirty years earlier.

¹⁷ Interview with Second Focus Group, Shoukat Mia, 24/10/07.

¹⁸ Interview with Rygate Site Visit, Jasper Raymond, 30/1/08.

¹⁹ Ted Doman, "Who is Bluffing Who", *Cape Herald*, 12/8/72.

²⁰ For examples of players suspended for dual affiliation with WPIFA/FAWP, see UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 14/4/77 and 19/5/77.

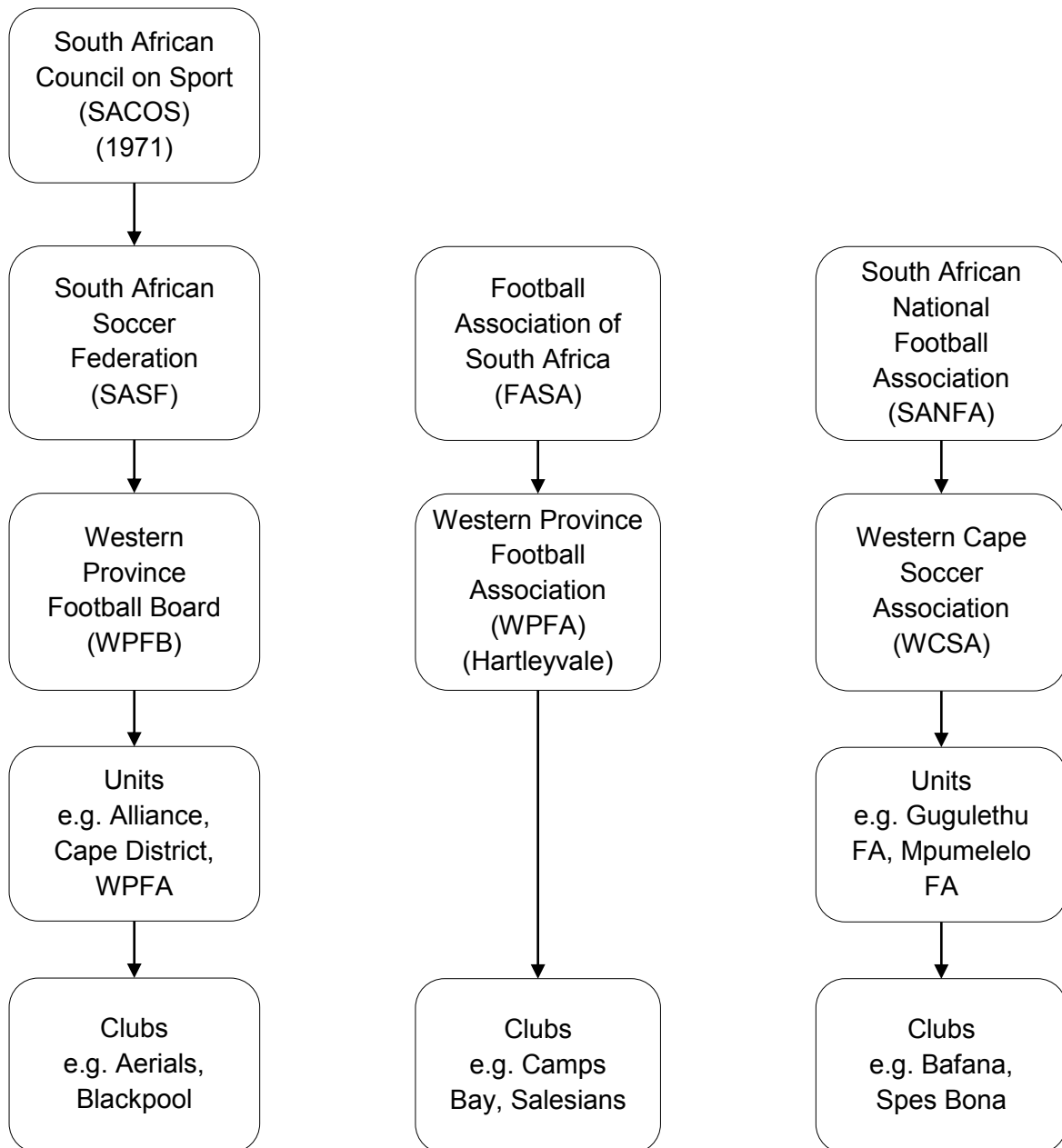


Figure (iv): Simplified Football Structure in the Western Province.²¹

²¹ The WPIFA/FAWP's national structure is not included here since it was less consistent than the other groups. At various times the group was affiliated to the South African Indian Football Association (SAIFA) and to no national association. When affiliated to the SAIFA, the WPIFA/FAWP's structure roughly paralleled the White football structure.

In contrast to the relationship with the WPIFA/FAWP, official relations with the 'rival' WCSA and WPFA (Hartleyvale) associations were almost non-existent. The Western Cape Soccer Association (WCSA), based in Langa, was affiliated to the South African National Football Association (SANFA) and like the Board worked on a unit system. Despite strong teams such as Bafana and Spes Bona, the NPSL (the SANFA professional league) never had a team from the WCSA.²² In 1972 the NPSL did establish a Zambuk or promotion league in Cape Town however, despite promises to the contrary, none of the 'promoted' teams ever entered the NPSL first or second divisions. George Thabe, the long-time President of SANFA, blamed this situation on the lack of a suitable stadium and the high cost of travel to and from the Western Cape.²³ A Cape Town team may have cost the league as much as R126 000 annually.²⁴ The relationship between the WCSA and SANFA was fraught and Joe Mthimka, the founding President of WCSA unit the Gugulethu FA, described the WCSA as 'just ... a sibling association' to SANFA.²⁵

Until 1985 when the two organisations' parent bodies, the SASF and SANFA, entered talks, relations between the WPFB and the WCSA were rare and highly limited. Then Secretary and later President of the WPFB, Vincent Baartjes, blames this largely on African antagonism towards Coloureds. He described a rare meeting between the organisations in 1975:

when we first tried to get unity and that was when people like Mr Wally (Henkel), them were around. You know we went out to Langa and it was pitch dark. And the meeting we were in was pitch dark and there was candles and things...

²² Apart from in 1962 and 1963, when the league was still in conception as a rival to the South African Soccer League and was of marginal importance.

²³ Raath, *Soccer Through*, 114.

²⁴ Diza Mahlebo, "Shock for Cape Town Soccer", *Cape Argus*, 1/2/73.

²⁵ Interview with Langa Focus Group, Joe Mthimka, Cape Town, Francois Cleophas, 13/11/07.

And we were accused at the time particularly you know you Coloured people this and you Coloured people that. And I remember (Thami Mkhizi) actually making the observation to his own members.

He says...we talk about uh about the Coloureds, but I want you to remember something that while we are in chains of iron, they are in chains of gold, but both of them were in chains.²⁶

The reliability or otherwise of this story is debatable. Baartjes' legacy has been built on his reputation as 'the pioneer of football unity in South Africa.'²⁷ In the interview he notes with pride that when the WPFB and WCSA united, they 'were the first in the country'.²⁸ His location of the failure to unify earlier in the socio-economic position of Africans and their antagonism towards Coloureds could be viewed as an attempt to preserve this legacy.

Rather than Africans being anti-integration, it is more likely that these 'chains of iron', poor facilities and a chaotic administrative system, led to the WCSA being perceived as more of a potential hindrance than an asset to the WPFB. The Board's middle-class outlook prized order and the constitution, and the administration generally felt that its own lack of facilities meant it should have fewer units not more.²⁹ The socio-economic and political circumstances for Africans in the Western Cape made effective organisation of African football in the Western Cape difficult. In 1955 the Secretary of Native Affairs, Dr. Max Eiselen, introduced the Coloured Labour Preference Policy. Eiselen described the policy's goal as 'the ultimate elimination of natives from this region (Western Cape)'.³⁰ In practice the scheme drew a line behind which employers had to demonstrate that Coloured labour

²⁶ Interview with Second Focus Group, Vincent Baartjes, 24/10/07.

²⁷ "SAFA pays tribute to Vincent Baartjes", *Kick it Off*, 3/9/08, accessed 6/6/15, <http://www.kickoff.com/news/10817/safa-pays-tribute-to-baartjies>.

²⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-6-5, WPFB minute books, 14/2/73.

³⁰ Dr. Max Eiselen, "The Coloured People and the Native", *Journal of Racial Affairs* 3, 6 (1955), 32, cited in Helen Scanlon, *Representation and Reality: Portraits of Women's Lives in the Western Cape, 1948-1976* (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2007), 41.

could not be obtained before being allowed to employ African labour.³¹ Strict influx controls were also placed on Africans. Only those who were born and whose parents were born behind the 'imaginary Berlin Wall' were classified as being from the Western Cape.³² If no proof could be found, then Africans had to apply for an eleven month pass to live and work in the region. After this, individuals had to 'return' to their homelands and apply for a new pass.³³ The policy meant that most Africans in the Western Cape were officially classed as temporary residents.

This status meant that even compared to the inadequate Coloured amenities, the recreational facilities provided for Africans were of a deplorable standard. Langa Stadium, the largest ground in the African townships, was described as an 'uneven, gravel pitch'.³⁴ When the WCSA appealed to the City Council to improve the field, it was levelled with charcoal taken from the cooling towers of the Athlone Power Station. This made the pitch akin to a tarred road³⁵ – and this field was generally regarded as the best in Langa. The standard of facilities inhibited the improvement of African soccer. When Orlando Pirates played a Western Cape African XI in 1974, Pirates won 9-0. The press attributed the thrashing to the 'alien' conditions that the Western Cape players faced due to the 'lush, cut turf' at Hartleyvale.³⁶

These 'chains of iron' made administration difficult. The WCSA simply did not have the resources, finances or facilities to administer its football to the same level as the WPFB. Mr. Mpatidos blamed the lack of relations between the WCSA and the WPFB on:

³¹ The line was initially east of George and Beaufort West and north of Kenhardt, although the line was moved further east in 1963 and 1967.

³² Josette Cole, *Behind and Beyond the Eiselen Line* (Cape Town, St. George's Cathedral Crypt Memory and Witness Centre, 2012), 2.

³³ Scanlon, *Representation*, 41-3. The 'homelands' of the majority of Africans who lived in Cape Town were the Ciskei or Transkei. Many had no real connection to the 'homelands' and some had never even been there.

³⁴ Various, *Fields of Play*, 33.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Diza Mahlebo, "Soccer Beating Reflection on Administration", *Cape Argus*, 15/3/74. The City Council had provided special permission to allow the game to be played at the venue normally reserved for Whites only.

I must be honest they were bit far from us in the sense that in organising because one, they had resources, we didn't have resources, they had fields.³⁷

The classification of Africans as 'temporary' residents led to a very high turnover of individuals which added to and exacerbated these organisational difficulties. As unity talks arrived in the late 1980s, most African clubs and units still lacked a proper constitution.³⁸ To the WPFB hierarchy, obsessed with order and the constitution, this was a major barrier to unity.

This situation seems to have led many Coloureds in the WPFB to look down upon their African counterparts. Mr. Mpatidos noted:

some of them (WPFB) had attitude. I must be honest, they had attitude towards us (WCSA) and towards our people (Africans) ... that frustrate me, a lot.³⁹

This 'frustration' created a context of mutual antagonism between the two groups. Many Board members and officials viewed the WCSA as an inferior organisation lacking in the facilities or administration required to join the Board. This in turn created a sense in the WCSA of a racial division and a stronger connection to the survival of their organisation. African footballers and administrators (such as Mr. Mpatidos) increasingly believed that their peculiar circumstances required a separate organisation catered to their particular needs.

Due to what Adhikari describes as Coloureds' 'intermediate status in the South African racial hierarchy',⁴⁰ the WCSA's view of the WPFB was largely paralleled by the WPFB's of the White WPFA (Hartleyvale). The White organisation played on a centralised basis with direct affiliation from clubs, i.e. there was no unit system. It was affiliated to the Football

³⁷ Interview with Langa Focus Group, Mr. Mpatidos, 13/11/07.

³⁸ Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, 11/2/15.

³⁹ Interview with Langa Focus Group, Mr. Mpatidos, 13/11/07.

⁴⁰ Adhikari, *Not White Enough*, 10.

Association of South Africa (FASA). As well as its amateur leagues which took place at Hartleyvale on a Saturday, there were two professional teams who played in the FASA-administered National Football League (NFL): the WPFA (Hartleyvale)-owned Cape Town City and the autonomous ethnic Greek club Hellenic. Both teams played on Friday nights – City at Hartleyvale and Hellenic at Green Point Stadium. The organisation, ‘against a lot of people’s wishes’,⁴¹ became officially non-racial in November 1971; however until 1976 no self-identifying Coloured seems to have played in the league. The motivation for the change was probably similar to the South African Football Association’s (SAFA) name-change to FASA and deletion of its own racially exclusionary clause in 1956, i.e. ‘to create the perception of substantive change while keeping an all-white status.’⁴² Seemingly, the organisation had no strong internal impetus for change.

The White association, due to its ownership of the 28 000-seater Hartleyvale Stadium and connections to the Cape Town City Council, was generally perceived to have the best facilities in the Peninsula. When its ground’s floodlights were ‘worn out’ in the early 1970s, the WPFA (Hartleyvale) was able to secure a loan from the White-owned insurance company SANLAM for £35 000 to purchase new ones; the ‘worn out’ lights were sold for a considerable fee to the Cape District-owned William Herbert Sports Ground.⁴³ The general perception was that access to these facilities meant that the WPFA (Hartleyvale) had the highest standard of amateur football in the region.

The association’s centralised system meant that its priorities and outlook differed from the WPFB’s. All teams affiliated directly and played in a promotion/relegation system termed the Cape Western League. This meant that attention and facility provision focused on the Cape Western League first division and the bigger clubs within it. While within the Board different units drew different levels of interest, the localised and fluctuating unit structure meant that a

⁴¹ Interview with Eric Dalton, Cape Town, conducted by Francois Cleophas, 29/10/07. The sentiment expressed here is reiterated in Bill Clark, “Multiracial soccer talks in secret”, *Cape Argus*, 17/11/71.

⁴² Alegi, *Laduma!*, 113.

⁴³ Interview with Eric Dalton, 29/10/07.

high standard of facilities was demanded in more locations. Board Unit leagues were generally given a similar level of prestige to the inter-unit Maggot Trophy with many players choosing to play in their leagues over the competition.⁴⁴ These structural differences meant that the WPFA (Hartleyvale) was far more centred around several large clubs, e.g. Camps Bay and Salesians, while the WPFB had to take into account a myriad of different voices. This difference in institutional outlook continued to act as a barrier to integration right up until the onset of football unity in 1991.

The WPFB's relationship with 'other racial groups'

While the WPFB, WPFA (Hartleyvale), the WCSA and (to a lesser extent) the WPIFA largely represented their respective population groups, as all four groups became 'non-racial' each association attracted members from outside their original communities. The Double Standards resolution as demonstrated later was rooted in Board consternation over the prospect of losing its hold over the Coloured community. While no evidence could be found of Coloureds taking part in either the WPFA (Hartleyvale) or the WCSA pre-1976, there were a few cases of non-Coloureds taking part in WPFB competitions. Their experiences can be said to be illustrative of the extant barriers to integration before the Double Standards affair.

In the late 1960s an African unit, the Langa-based Western Province United (WPU),⁴⁵ did briefly affiliate to the Board. By 1970 however the WPU lost its full membership and soon after left the Board entirely.⁴⁶ This decision followed the unit having forfeited at least six Maggot Trophy games in 1968 and having withdrawn from Board competitions in 1969 due

⁴⁴ See " 'It's the system' says Woodside Soccer Boss", *Cape Herald*, 7/9/74.

⁴⁵ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-2-1, WPFB minute books, 1/8/68.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 9/4/70.

to cost.⁴⁷ The poor administration, facilities and lack of financial resources in African areas seemingly meant that the WPU could not remain a member of the WPFB without significant assistance. The Board consistently refused to provide this help.⁴⁸ Official relations thereafter ceased between any local African body and the Board until 1979.

Apart from isolated individual members, relations with Africans were reduced to occasional friendlies with non-Cape African teams e.g. Moroka Swallows versus Spurs in 1974.⁴⁹ Friendlies in Western Cape African townships also continued; interviews suggest WPFA, Alliance and WPIFA teams all played in Langa at various times, however these were relatively rare.⁵⁰ While individual Africans did occasionally play in Board competitions, the situation was a rarity due to segregation and apartheid laws. Africans, who were generally removed earlier from areas such as District Six, were confined largely to the townships of Langa, Gugulethu and Nyanga. The barrier created by distance was extenuated by the existence of onerous pass laws on Africans. Travelling outside or even between townships required a 'dompas' which made playing football in a Coloured area an arduous task. Whatever attitude the Board had to integration with Africans, the legal realities made it incredibly difficult. Despite shifts in government sports policy in the late 1970s, these realities changed very little. The socio-economic, legal and political divides between the two population groups continued to act as a barrier to integration which increased 'sporting' support for the Double Standards resolution.

While there were limited relations with African bodies, relations with White footballing bodies were almost non-existent. No evidence was found that any White players played in WPFB teams pre the late 1970s. While the WPFA (Hartleyvale) became officially non-racial in

⁴⁷ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82, WPFB minute books.

⁴⁸ It should be pointed that apart from a one-off payment of R50 to units (including WPU) without gate revenue, there are no examples in the WPFB minutes of financial assistance to units due to financial difficulties. UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-2-1, WPFB minute books, 12/6/69.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, MCH82-15-2-2, 13/5/74.

⁵⁰ Interview with R.O. Dudley, Cape Town, conducted by Francois Cleophas and Virgil Slade, 8/4/08 and Interview with Coenie Stuurman, Cape Town, conducted by Virgil Slade and Tina Smith, 27/5/08.

1971, the Association seems not to have accepted anyone identifying as Coloured until 1977.⁵¹ Mixed sport was never officially illegal, but the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1953, along with a host of other restrictive measures made the practice difficult.⁵² Mixed sport required separate entrances and toilets which were beyond the means of most amateur clubs, even White ones. Even then, the traditional post-match drink was prohibited, due to the Liquor Act, 1928.⁵³

Coloureds however were not generally antagonistic towards White football. The two White professional National Football League (NFL) clubs, Hellenic and Cape Town City, had a fanatical Coloured following. City's home ground Hartleyvale was segregated under the permit system with the Railway Stand and half of the Hoskins Stand reserved for Coloureds. These stands were almost always packed for Friday night NFL games.⁵⁴ A *Cape Herald* article from 1969 decried the situation wherein Coloureds supported White teams at the expense of Coloured football clubs:

Thousands flock to regular Friday evening games elsewhere and possibly some could be persuaded to support the football of their own ... If they have any conscience they should realise that they have a duty to their own people.⁵⁵

Until the implementation of the Double Standards resolution, the Board did not have an official policy on attending NFL games although its general position was hostile. Regardless, many of those who attended were Board members.⁵⁶

While most of the football-loving Coloured community supported one or other of the Cape NFL teams, by the 1970s some of the more politicised clubs barred their players from

⁵¹ Lennie Kleintjies, "It's all change as the soccer season kicks off", *Cape Herald*, 5/4/77. Examples do exist of Coloureds 'Passing for White' in the organisation. See *Ibid*.

⁵² Christopher Merrett, "Aurora: The Challenge of Non-Racial Cricket to the Apartheid State of the mid-1970s", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18, 4 (2010), 100.

⁵³ *Ibid*.

⁵⁴ Interview with Eric Dalton, Cape Town, conducted by the author, 10/02/15.

⁵⁵ "Why Not a Super League for Soccer?", *Cape Herald*, 15/3/69.

⁵⁶ Interview with Eric Dalton, 10/02/15.

attending due to their opposition to the permit system. The largely Muslim, Alliance-affiliated Blackpool club never allowed its members to attend.⁵⁷ When long-time member Ebrahim Abdullah did attend one game at Hartleyvale, to see his English team Tottenham Hotspur, he had to sneak into the ground and 'told nobody' about his transgression for fear of reprisals.⁵⁸ In general however clubs, seeing White football as separate rather than as a WPFB rival, condoned the practice. The divide between clubs such as Blackpool who viewed the matter in wider political terms and clubs who were focused on their own sporting concerns became increasingly important with the onset of SACOS and the Double Standards resolution.

The almost total segregation of South African football was ended by a change in government policy. Piet Koornhof, the Sports Minister, announced the new policy of 'multi-national' sport in 1971. The policy supported teams of different 'races' competing against each other at a national level and allowed for touring foreign sides to be racially mixed.⁵⁹ In 1976 this policy was extended to club level. Thereafter racially mixed teams in leagues such as the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) were tacitly if not officially supported. The concept of 'multi-national' games fitted with general National Party policy and interests. It was essentially an extension of the 'homelands' policy wherein the government attempted to establish independent nations for the various 'tribes' within the African classification. On a sporting level, it also provided a 'policy that could be sold overseas' in the wake of the growing international sporting boycott of the country;⁶⁰ in 1970 the International Cricket Council (ICC) had declared a moratorium on all tours to South Africa and they had been expelled by the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

⁵⁷ Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, 11/02/15. It should be noted that antagonism towards White South Africans was not reflective in views of English Whites. Blackpool FC, despite its stance against attending Hartleyvale matches, was named after the English Blackpool FC who won the FA Cup in 1953 in a game dubbed 'the Matthews Final'.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Nauright, *Sport, Cultures*, 141.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

From a practical point of view the policy was disastrous. In 1975, a Chevrolet-sponsored Champion of Champions event, pitting the winners of the NFL against the winners of the African NPSL was established.⁶¹ In the first final Hellenic faced Kaizer Chiefs and the White side won the first leg in Cape Town 4-0. The second leg, played at the Rand Stadium in Johannesburg, turned into a near riot. Chiefs won the game 2-1, although as bottles rained down, it was suggested that the result was down to Hellenic's 'tactfulness and diplomacy' rather than footballing inferiority.⁶² In the aftermath of the disturbances, the *Argus* declared the 'multi-national' experiment a failure and called for integrated sport as the 'final solution'.⁶³

Perhaps the 'multi-national' sports policy's greatest impact was providing an impetus for sportsmen and women to question the laws around non-racial sport. Many came to the conclusion that it was not technically illegal and in 1973 in Pietermaritzburg, the Aurora Cricket Club fielded a mixed team in the White Maritzburg Cricket Union (MCU).⁶⁴ This context led the first strongly White-associated club, the University of Cape Town (UCT), to apply for WPFB affiliation (through the Alliance League) in October 1974. For UCT the decision was almost certainly political rather than sporting in nature. The move was preceded by a University-wide referendum held in August 1974 that ruled that every sports club must 'furnish evidence to the Sports Union that applications have been submitted to the provincial associations for all students to be eligible to play in external leagues'.⁶⁵ The referendum was criticised by the sports clubs for being student-wide rather than confined to the clubs themselves. While UCT affiliated a team to Alliance, it continued to have a team in the WPFA (Hartleyvale) administered Cape Western League. For reasons that are unclear, few White students chose to leave the WPFA (Hartleyvale) for the WPFB. It can be stated with reasonable confidence that this was not the result of an ideological aversion to mixed teams; in 1975 just 2 of 70 players voted against a motion to leave the WPFA (Hartleyvale) if

⁶¹ As well as representatives from the marginal South African Coloured Football Association (SACFA) and the South African Indian Football Association (SAIFA). The SAIFA representative was the WPIFA side Aces United.

⁶² "Chiefs Win – Soccer Lost", *Cape Argus*, 14/4/75.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Merrett, "Aurora".

⁶⁵ "Vote for Mixed Sport", *Cape Times*, 16/8/74.

they did not accept a Black member.⁶⁶ The issues faced by UCT in Alliance and the response of the WPFB administration to them provide perhaps the best example of Board attitudes to White integration pre-Double Standards resolution.

While SASF President Norman Middleton 'welcomed the decision' of UCT,⁶⁷ the Board's initial reaction was coy. Chairman Wally Henkel stated that:

We should take the bull by the horns. The executive has been guided by the constitution of the South African Soccer Federation and we thus have an obligation to all players.⁶⁸

The word 'obligation' summarises Henkel's attitude. He immediately places the responsibility for the affiliation outside of the WPFB and into the hands of the SASF. Consternation felt at UCT's affiliation was widespread and the 1974 Secretarial Report noted that UCT was 'viewed in many areas with distrust and suspicion which is justifiable and is not at all surprising'.⁶⁹ This trepidation seems largely to have been the result of UCT's dual affiliation to the WPFA (Hartleyvale) and Alliance and more political issues. Cape Town United, a former FPL side which played in the NPSL in 1975, wrote a letter to the WPFB condemning its acceptance of UCT due to wider discriminatory practices at the University.⁷⁰

The consternation quickly heightened to outright antagonism when UCT began playing in Alliance. On 12th April 1975, UCT was beaten by Harvey Rangers in its first game in the Coloured association. The game however was not played at Alliance's home-ground Rosmead but rather at UCT-owned pitches in Pinelands.⁷¹ Unsurprisingly, regular Alliance supporters were outraged.⁷² UCT claimed the relocation was due to needing a permit to

⁶⁶ "UCT club threatens to withdraw", *Cape Times*, 11/9/75.

⁶⁷ "UCT Applies to Join Alliance", *Cape Herald*, 26/10/74.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, Secretarial Report 1974.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 20/3/75.

⁷¹ "UCT bow in with Alliance", *Cape Herald*, 12/4/75.

⁷² "Will UCT be a Problem", *Cape Herald*, 2/8/75.

play at Rosmead,⁷³ but the Board disputed this claim. In similar scenes to those noted by Merrett in his study of the Aurora Cricket Club,⁷⁴ the local council decided to wash its hands of the affair and refused to clarify its position. The desire of UCT to play at the Alliance ground, with or without permits, was heavily questioned within Alliance. Even within the WPFB, Rosmead was notorious for being a quagmire particularly in the rain. Coenie Stuurman described Rosmead as having a 'black slush' which stank.⁷⁵ The pitch at Pinelands was of a much higher quality. On his first game at Pinelands, Castle Celtic player Cyril Kounis stated gleefully that 'Our passes went where they were supposed to have gone thanks to the conditions of the pitch.'⁷⁶

In addition to this sporting concern, the makeup of the UCT team also drew criticism. Blackpool member, Ebrahim Abdullah, located the origin of his opposition to UCT in the fact that the Whites they had held meetings with were not in the team. He stated that the team had almost no Whites at all.⁷⁷ Seemingly the administration of the UCT club, having complied with the referendum's requirements to provide a team in a league where Black players could participate, had along with the vast majority of White players remained in the Cape Western League. This meant that the UCT team were mostly Black and were not students at all, but workers at the University.⁷⁸ Due to these concerns Blackpool refused to take the field against UCT at Pinelands.⁷⁹ Blackpool, a predominantly Muslim club, was identified in Chapter 1 as part of a distinctively politicised 'Challenger' faction. The experiences of the UCT affair represented the first major incident prompted by this group who became a vocal and influential minority during the Double Standards affair. The WPFB's inability to effectively countenance their tactic of refusing to play or their utilisation of

⁷³ *Cape Herald*, 31/5/75.

⁷⁴ Merrett, "Aurora".

⁷⁵ Interview with Coenie Stuurman, Cape Town, conducted by Virgil Slade and Tina Smith, 27/5/08.

⁷⁶ "UCT learn their lesson the hard way", *Cape Herald*, 19/4/75.

⁷⁷ Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, 11/2/15.

⁷⁸ "Alliance log leaders Default to Varsity", *Cape Herald*, 23/8/75.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

Board structures in non-traditional manners enabled the group to utilise power despite limited numbers.

By the end of 1975, three Alliance clubs had refused to play at Pinelands and had defaulted. The Alliance Union however decided to stand behind the university team. The three defaulter clubs – Blackpool, Clarewood and Castle Celtic – were suspended by the union while UCT was given permission to carry on playing home and away matches at Pinelands despite a Board directive forbidding it.⁸⁰ The directive was explicit in stating that UCT must play at Rosmead ‘even if there was a confrontation with the authorities’ over permits.⁸¹

At the WPFB AGM in 1976 the issue of Alliance and UCT came to a head. Chris Stevens, Chairman of the Cape Flats FA, led the opposition to UCT:

In the interest of the Unity in Black Football, consideration be given to terminating the membership of U.C.T. AFC in its ‘present form unless ... U.C.T. AFC affiliates to the Alliance F.A. “only and in to”.⁸²

The phrase ‘Unity in Black Football’ requires a little more discussion here. This referred exclusively to Coloured football. At this time the WPFB had no predominantly non-Coloured units and their actions represent very little interest in the Black Consciousness movement. No recorded attempt to co-opt any non-Coloured members were made at this time. The phrase ‘Unity in Black Football’ should therefore be read as referring only to the unity of the WPFB and Coloureds. The quote from Stevens also suggests that the anger towards UCT was not primarily of a political or racial nature. His primary concern is WPFB unity. The marriage of convenience between this viewpoint and the more politicised groups such as Blackpool was a hallmark of future events.

⁸⁰ “Alliance Defy the Board”, *Cape Herald*, 20/9/75.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 1/2/76.

The meeting continued to be marked by a vociferous criticism of UCT and Alliance whom Vincent Baartjes accused of 'playing the House of Lords to see who's King of the Castle'.⁸³ The AGM backed the three clubs who had been suspended by Alliance and called on the unit to re-instate all three and for Alliance to sever all connections to the UCT club unless it quit the WPFA (Hartleyvale) and affiliated only to the Board.⁸⁴ Alliance was suspended until such time as it complied with these directives.

By the end of 1976 the issue had died a quiet death. UCT had left Alliance and the unit was deemed to have complied with the directives of the AGM and was re-instated. However, the experiences and failure of the UCT affiliation were to provide the backdrop and local context for the destabilising events that soon followed. The new government sports policy and concurrent unity talks between the SASF, FASA and SANFA destabilised SACOS and led to the formation of the Double Standards resolution. The Board's response was much the same as in the UCT affair; certain clubs took up a political stance, units divided and the Board primarily sought to re-establish stability and unity. As in the UCT affair, potential White (and African) integration was sacrificed in order to protect the existing members of the Board and their football. Politics was utilised to serve the WPFB's immediate sporting interests.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Secretarial Report 1975.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1/2/76.

Chapter 3 – The Implementation of the Double Standards Resolution

Under ordinary circumstances, we believe that fields tend toward stability... Given this presumption, we think most periods of significant field contention/change begin with *destabilizing events* or processes that often have their origins outside the narrow confines of the field.¹

The middle-class WPFB Dominants' 'hard-fought and fragile' Institutional Settlement was ended by the Double Standards affair.² The situation detailed in the previous two chapters was destabilised and the WPFB seemingly transformed from an organisation that opposed what it saw as 'politics bedevilling our sport'³ into one that used sport as 'a strategy against apartheid per se'.⁴ After the Board's implementation of the Double Standards resolution in 1980, publicly the institution claimed that there was no division on the issue. It proclaimed that 'defectors', those who played sport in non-SACOS affiliates, would not be given 'any leeway' and called for strong punishments.⁵ Despite Board rhetoric, this situation never materialised. At the grassroots level the resolution was often flouted with Executive connivance. The Board and the SACOS Executive, due to differing goals and Institutional Logics, viewed the act in very different terms. While SACOS analysed the situation in political terms, the WPFB viewed events from a sporting perspective.

The 'destabilizing events' that affected the WPFB originated outside the SACOS sports structure, within shifts in government sports policy and attempts by White groups to integrate. Douglas Booth notes:

¹ McAdam and Scott, "Organizations and Movements", 18.

² *Ibid.*

³ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 23/2/75.

⁴ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 57.

⁵ "Soccer Board Spells it Out", *Cape Herald*, 28/2/81.

In the belief that sport transcended race and politics, SACOS pursued negotiations with white sports officials to integrate and democratise South African sports. Failed negotiations, state harassment of SACOS leaders and a thorough analysis of the relationship between apartheid and sport, convinced SACOS that black sports people would continue to experience discrimination while apartheid existed.⁶

In so many words, Booth notes that unity attempts by White sports bodies and their failure destabilised SACOS and caused a shift in its outlook. Booth asserts that this led directly to the formation of the Double Standards resolution.⁷ The impact on the Board of the Double Standards resolution was filtered through this prism. In order to understand how the WPFB viewed the resolution one must therefore begin with the unity talks initiated by FASA in 1976.

The Integration talks of 1976 and 1977

In September 1976, the government extended its 'multi-national' policy to club level. In the wake of the Soweto Uprisings in June and the expulsion of the White football association from FIFA just one month later, the move was part of a wider attempt by Pretoria to improve its international standing and combat the growing international sporting boycott of the country.⁸ While never fully endorsing racially mixed sport, tacitly the National Party gave its blessing for sporting organisations to unify.

At the same time, the FASA-administered professional league, the NFL, was in the throes of a financial crisis. After a peak in the mid-late 1960s, league attendance levels had been consistently on the wane. Cape Town City's average attendance fell by almost four

⁶ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 51.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Alegi, *Laduma!*, 141.

thousand in the 1972 season alone.⁹ The situation was even worse in the Transvaal where some clubs failed to 'pull in 1000 people'.¹⁰ Sponsorship levels also declined as private firms increasingly focused on marketing 'their products to millions of township consumers', rather than the more established White markets.¹¹ By 1977, NFL clubs across the country were experiencing severe financial difficulties. 1976 champions Cape Town City withdrew from the League Cup competition due to the burdensome cost and four-time winners Durban City were described as on the verge of collapse.¹²

Buoyed by the new sports policy, seeking a return to FIFA and worried by the imminent collapse of its professional league, general consensus within FASA called for unity talks with SANFA and the SASF. The means to achieve 'unity' were however heavily disputed. General Manager of the NFL, Viv Granger, argued that the Federation had won the "soccer war" 'and was the only South African unit that held any power in world soccer'.¹³ Therefore he reasoned that FASA should disband and join the SASF. Meanwhile others, including many in the African SANFA, opposed the idea of joining the Federation citing the possibility of an umbrella organisation which placed all three bodies on an equal footing.¹⁴

Despite a non-racial soccer structure being the stated goal of the SASF, the association was initially slow to join talks. This drew strong criticism from some affiliates including the WPFGB who, despite the sour experiences of the UCT affair, favoured integration. Board delegate to the SASF, Mrs. Sylvia Jeftha,¹⁵ accused the Federation of being a 'gutless fraud ... doing nothing for soccer'.¹⁶ She went on to question why they were not ready for talks after 25 years to prepare and accused the association of having 'betrayed' the WPFGB.¹⁷ A concurrent Board meeting backed Jeftha's stance and Chairman Wally Henkel declared that

⁹ From 18 127 in 1971 to 14 393 in 1972. Harold Butler, "City's Fair Weather Fans", *Cape Times*, 15/9/72.

¹⁰ Tony Brimacombe, "I admire our Soccer Crowds", *Cape Times*, 9/5/69.

¹¹ Alegi, *Laduma!*, 142.

¹² "City pull out of League Cup", *Cape Argus*, 1/2/77.

¹³ "Big Changes Called for in Soccer", *Cape Argus*, 22/9/76.

¹⁴ Andre van der Zwan, "Joining the SASF is not the Answer", *Cape Times*, 24/9/76.

¹⁵ Incidentally, the first and only female delegate to the SASF at this time.

¹⁶ Lennie Kleintjies, "Soccer Body Gets a Lashing", *Cape Herald*, 17/8/76.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

the Board 'would inform Federation about their dissatisfaction'.¹⁸ The initial reaction suggests that the Board and the Coloured community had no fundamental political aversion to integration. It was only when the practicalities of unity become apparent that popular opposition began.

Talks began, but the SASF withdrew within a month stating that it wanted non-racial soccer, but with 'no strings attached'.¹⁹ From then on the SASF refused unity talks unless other organisations were prepared to join the Federation.²⁰ Within Coloured circles the association was roundly criticised for the collapse of talks. Reporter Lennie Kleintjies summed up the response succinctly:

Is it really a stand on principle or is it more than certain Federation officials and other members see themselves losing their exalted positions if soccer administration falls under one head?²¹

The fear of SASF officials losing their positions in a new football super-structure reflects the first practical drawback to unity. Consternation was not unfounded. Integration created the potential for the marginalisation of the minority Coloured and Indian groups. The African SANFA had the numbers²² and the White FASA, despite the financial difficulties engulfing the NFL, had the money through the backing of powerful sponsors such as South African Breweries (SAB). The SASF was said to have the politics, but this was essentially forfeited by integration. Marginalisation was not only an issue for administrators who feared losing their 'exalted positions'. While in the Western Cape Coloureds were protected somewhat by their majority status, clubs and players were left vulnerable in any agreement. Although the Board was critical of SASF members prizing their own positions over the 'best course' for

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ "Soccer Council a Fraud, Joke says Federation", *Cape Herald*, 14/12/76.

²⁰ There were rumours of SAB-backed secret talks continuing, however this was denied by both sides. See Fanyana Shiburi, "The Fed may fold – Claim", *The Star*, 8/1/78, 10/5/78 and *Cape Herald*, 14/10/78.

²¹ Ted Doman, "Why so Stand-Offish", Dougie Oakes, "Unity: SACOS have final say – Howa", *Cape Herald*, 17/8/76..

²² 500 000 compared to just 40 000 for the SASF, Andre van der Zwan, "Joining the SASF is not the Answer", *Cape Times*, 24/9/76.

soccer, when integration at the Western Cape level was mooted, the WPFB reacted similarly.

Despite the SASF's withdrawal, SANFA and FASA pressed ahead with integration along with the marginal South African Coloured Football Association (SACFA) and South African Indian Football Association (SAIFA). The Football Council of South Africa (FCSA) was formed in November, with SANFA chief George Thabe as its inaugural President.²³ In 1977 the FCSA launched the Mainstay League Cup involving White and African professional teams.²⁴ The competition, overshadowed by crowd trouble, was roundly declared a disaster. After violence in Pretoria during a game between Hellenic and Pretoria Callies, Hellenic's English manager Johnny 'Budgie' Byrne stated:

I've had enough ... I'm not prepared to put people's lives in danger.²⁵

While crowd violence had previously existed in all codes of South African professional football,²⁶ in the wake of the heightening of racial tensions post-Soweto Uprisings, the media attributed the blame to the accentuation of racial difference by 'multi-nationalism'.²⁷ The *Cape Times* declared:

When natural team rivalry is bolstered by a racial difference and excitable spectators see a game as a conflict between white and black, you have all the ingredients of a race riot.²⁸

Regardless of the strength of the connection between racially mixed games and crowd violence, it quickly became a trope in the White press. When the WPFB-owned professional team Cape Town Spurs first played the White WPFA (Hartleyvale)-owned professional side

²³ Lennie Kleintjies, "Soccer Council Launched", *Cape Herald*, 23/11/76.

²⁴ Both leagues still took place independently as well.

²⁵ "Violence: Inter-race Soccer in Balance", *Weekend Argus*, 1/1/77.

²⁶ For evidence of disturbances, see NFL, Mike Bradbury, "Fans Mar a Fine City Win", *Cape Argus*, 6/3/76 (Hellenic v Germiston Callies), NPSL, *Daily News*, 15/9/77 (AmaZulu v Kaizer Chiefs), FPL, "Soccer Night of Shame", *Cape Herald*, 15/5/76 (Berea v Cape Town Spurs).

²⁷ Created by having the African NPSL teams face the White NFL teams.

²⁸ Sean O'Connor, "What the Sport Chiefs want and what they can't agree", *Cape Times*, 4/10/77.

Cape Town City in 1977, the White *Cape Argus* ran stories of 'a gun-wielding man', 'flying bottles' and 'tramples'.²⁹ The Coloured *Cape Herald*'s depiction of the violence only noted 'Stones were thrown'.³⁰ The reasoning attributed to the violence by the two papers was starkly different. The *Herald* blamed a lack of security arrangements,³¹ while the *Argus* questioned:

Can black and white play side by side in the present political climate when there is so little social contact between races?³²

This trope created another barrier to integration. Whites, fearful of violence, increasingly sought to unify primarily with elements they perceived to be 'respectable'. In the Western Cape, this meant that integration attempts focused on the Coloured middle-classes who also held sway within the WPFB administration.

With the perceived failure of 'multi-nationalism' and the Mainstay League Cup, the NFL pressed ahead with qualified moves towards non-racialism. Despite a gentleman's agreement with SANFA for FASA teams not to field any non-White players, Arcadia Shepherds selected the Black Vincent Julius in March 1977.³³ Julius, despite clear talent,³⁴ found the adjustment to the NFL difficult and amidst accusations of racial abuse from fellow players,³⁵ attempted to return to the FPL by the end of May.³⁶ Regardless of personal tribulations, Julius opened the floodgates for Black players to enter the NFL. The FPL soon followed suit in co-opting other races; in the 1977 season Richard Gomes became the first White to take part in the FPL when he moved to Berea from Durban City.³⁷ In the Western Cape, ex-Cape Town Spurs stars Bernard Hartze and Neville Londt signed for Hellenic³⁸ and

²⁹ Jimmy Atkins, "Why Sparks will fly when Black plays White at Soccer", *Cape Argus*, 16/2/78.

³⁰ Lennie Kleintjies, "Top-class Soccer Despite Riot", *Cape Herald*, 18/2/78.

³¹ Dougie Oakes, "Comment: Good Security Men Needed", *Cape Herald*, 18/2/78.

³² Jimmy Atkins, "Why Sparks will fly when Black plays White at Soccer", *Cape Argus*, 16/2/78.

³³ Harold Butler, "Julius: Arcs were Justified", *Cape Times*, 7/3/77.

³⁴ An ex-Sundowns player who had represented the SA Coloured XI at the South African Games in 1973.

³⁵ "They'll no Longer be Welcome", *Cape Herald*, 8/3/77.

³⁶ Lennie Kleintjies, "Feds KO Punch for any Hartze Hopes", *Cape Herald*, 31/5/77.

³⁷ Raath, *Soccer Through*, 117.

³⁸ Lennie Kleintjies, "Londt in Trouble", *Cape Herald*, 29/3/77.

ex-Cape Town City and Hellenic striker, Sergio Dos Santos, became the first White player to pull on a Spurs shirt.³⁹

Integration was not confined to the professional level. The WPFA (Hartleyvale), six years after becoming officially non-racial, finally opened its doors to Coloured players in 1977. Several Coloured footballers enthusiastically joined and a 'rebel' team, Hertha Berlin of Manenberg,⁴⁰ even applied unsuccessfully. Despite the shifts in government policy, many of the laws that had made integrated sport difficult remained; Raymond Jamierie and other Coloured teammates at Camps Bay FC were reported as needing 'to ask their White teammates to buy drinks for them.'⁴¹ Regardless, a steady trickle of Board players passed over to the WPFA (Hartleyvale) and Silvertown United, of the Metropolitan Union, crossed the divide in May.⁴² The WPFB's pre-eminent role in the Coloured community and potentially its survival were placed under threat.

The relationship that the WPFB and the SASF had held with the other football associations had been shattered; the situation had destabilised. This was replicated across SACOS. In cricket these attempts led to the creation of a unified body – the South African Cricket Union (SACU) formed out of the SACOS-affiliated South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC), the White South African Cricket Association and the South African African Cricket Board. This led to ex-SACBOC President Hassan Howa forming a new non-racial anti-integration cricket union, the South African Cricket Board (SACB), in November 1977.⁴³ The SACB quickly became a powerful anti-integrationist voice within SACOS. This origin divided the outlook of the SACB from the established SASF. The cricket association was founded around an anti-integration stance and ex-SACBOC administrators who favoured unity mostly passed over to the SACU. While individual pro-integration SASF

³⁹ "From Hellenic to Spurs", *Cape Herald*, 28/6/77.

⁴⁰ The team's name was likely connected to four German internationals, Arno Steffenhagen, Wolfgang Geyer, Jurgen Weber and Volkmar Groß, who played for Hellenic in the 1972-3 season after having been suspended by the German Hertha Berlin team for a match fixing scandal. Raath, *Soccer Through*, 131.

⁴¹ Lennie Kleintjies, "Grumbles at Hartleyvale", *Cape Herald*, 26/4/77.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game*, 227.

administrators, such as the former FPL Public Relations Officer Abdul Bhamjee, passed over to the integrated White/African FCSA, the SASF retained the vast majority of its administrators regardless of political stance. Consensus on the 'unity issue' was never reached in the SASF to the same extent as the SACB.

In February 1977, several months before the SACU was founded, Hassan Howa was elected President of SACOS, a move that along with the creation of the SACB transformed the organisation towards a more radical focus. SACOS's former President, SASF chief Normal Middleton, was a supporter of unity talks and qualified collaboration with the government, albeit on an anti-Apartheid basis. Middleton's stance towards the government was embodied by his concurrent position as Deputy Leader of the Coloured Labour Party. The Labour Party was established in 1965 on a platform of using the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CRC) as a 'temporary institution' through which to gain full citizenship for Coloureds. The CRC was part-appointed by the government and part-elected by Coloureds, but had severely limited powers. It was never popular and the Capetonian turnout for the first election in 1969 was just 16.4%; turnout for later elections was even worse.⁴⁴ Despite flirtations with Black Consciousness ideologies, the use of the CRC meant that the Labour Party was always connected to a distinctive Coloured identity.⁴⁵ In elections however, the party ran on an explicit anti-Apartheid stance and regularly boycotted CRC events where there was involvement from National Party figures.⁴⁶ Middleton summarised his position as:

I am not on the CRC out of choice but because it's the only available medium for voicing effective opposition.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Frank Molteno, *The Coloured Person's Representative Council: Its Place in the Evolving Strategy of SA's Rulers - An Historical Overview* (Department of Sociology Working Paper, University of Cape Town 1977), 18.

⁴⁵ Goldin, *Making Race*, 156-8.

⁴⁶ For example, see "Foreign aid call for Coloured group", *Cape Times*, 5/8/72.

⁴⁷ "Middleton Stays in the Saddle", *Cape Herald*, 25/10/75.

He went on to argue that although he 'disapproved' of the CRC, he could not 'do nothing'.⁴⁸ He was willing to work within the system to fight for the best situation possible for his (Coloured) community. He took the same view on sport. The Apartheid system was a reality and while he argued against the unfair distribution of resources, he looked upon SASF events in immediate and sporting terms.

Howa meanwhile by early 1977 stated categorically that he would not accept mixed cricket at club level unless the situation was replicated at school level.⁴⁹ It was generally understood that calls for the mixing of sport at school level were an implicit call to end Apartheid, as it was virtually impossible for mixed⁵⁰ school sport and Apartheid to co-exist. Howa, believing that Black sport would always be in a disadvantaged position while Apartheid existed, subsumed the sporting cause to a higher political goal. The Middleton-Howa divide (represented at associate level by a SACB-SASF divide) defined the politics of SACOS in the ensuing years, even after Middleton lost his position as SASF President in 1981. Their ideological rift and their different perspectives on the purpose of SACOS was replicated across the organisation including within the WPFB.

Howa's 1977 presidential campaign platform was based on what came to be known as the Double Standards resolution. It was initially intended as a tool with which to instil 'internal discipline'.⁵¹ The resolution as first passed in April 1977 declared:

No person, whether he is a player, an administrator or a spectator, committed to the Non-Racial principle in sport, shall participate or be associated with any code of sport which practice, perpetuate or condone racism or multi-nationalism.⁵²

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Rashid Seria, "Howa Stumps Cricket Move", *Cape Argus*, 29/1/77.

⁵⁰ As opposed to 'multi-national'.

⁵¹ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 57.

⁵² UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-2, Printed Document.

The resolution barred SACOS members from having simultaneous membership of any non-SACOS affiliated sports organisation. The ideological basis was the oft-quoted phrase that there could be 'no normal sport in an abnormal society'. Howa, who coined the phrase, stated that it came out of his realisation that Apartheid and sport could not be separated:

I admit now that I should not have fought [against apartheid] from a cricket angle. I should have fought from a completely humanitarian angle. I should have carried the fight right down the line. People come to me and say what you fought for has arrived, why aren't you satisfied. I can't be satisfied if I was fighting for the wrong thing. My standards were wrong. Probably I've become mature. Probably I've become aware of politics.⁵³

The slogan argued that residential segregation, the racial distribution of facilities, the permit system and other Apartheid policies ensured that 'normal sport' could not exist in the extant system. For this reason it was 'impossible to separate politics from sport in South Africa' and Howa rejected integrated sport due to it being used to legitimise the government.⁵⁴ The Double Standards resolution, particularly after its widening to outlaw 'racial' bodies including the CRC, was designed to respond to the 'abnormal society' by politicising Coloured sport with an anti-government stance. As SACOS ruled sport was already politicised by the government, normal sport became a secondary concern to the organisation, something only achievable once Apartheid had been dismantled. To Howa and his adherents in the short-medium term, politics became more important than sport.

⁵³ Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, v.

⁵⁴ "Call for Sport Negotiations", *Cape Times*, 18/2/81.

The Mahoney Incident

The fallout from the Double Standards resolution and Howa's stance struck the Board even before it was officially passed. It was no coincidence that this 'politicised' resolution was first supported by Bluebells, a club identified as part of the distinctively 'politicised' Muslim associated Challenger faction in Chapter 1. Due to its perceived history of political struggle and its role in breaking the Cape District ban on Muslims, the club had consistently attracted political activists and had a fairly unique outlook within the WPFB.⁵⁵ Captain Rashied Cloete's uncle, Abie Adams, was the Vice-President of SACOS and support for the Council at Bluebells was very strong.⁵⁶

On 24 February 1977, Bluebells refused to take the field for a Coca-Cola Summer Tournament game with Glenville because they objected to the appointed referee, Jock Mahoney. Mahoney in 1976 had become the first Coloured cricketer to represent the White Western Province team and played cricket in the recently formed, integrated WPCU. He had however remained a player and referee in the WPFB. Captain Rashied Cloete entered the Bluebells dressing room and rallied his team against Mahoney:

I said guys, this is the position, Jock Mahoney feels we're not good enough to play cricket with him, but now he wants to referee our game.

The Team said "dan gaan ons nie speel nie" (then we won't play), we don't want him as a referee, unless they replace the referee, we're not going to play.⁵⁷

Bluebells refused to take the field and called upon Cape District to revoke Mahoney's membership. The incident is widely regarded to have instigated the implementation of the Double Standards resolution, but it also represented the rise of the 'politicised' faction within

⁵⁵ Cleophas and van der Merwe, "Contradictions", 135.

⁵⁶ Interview with Rashied Cloete, 7/4/08.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

the Board. Throughout the period this group, though it consistently rose in stature, remained small in numbers. The WPFB though was unable to effectively hedge off their opposition; the Challengers had the support of SACOS, and the institution had no effective means to counter their methods.

Bluebells' stance was not only representative of the rise of an undefined political faction within the Board. It can also be identified as the first time that two new values/Institutional Logics that defined future Board decision making were seen. The first was 'unity'. The phrase 'we're not good enough to play cricket with him' implies a connection to the legacies of the poorly defined nature of Coloured identity and religious divides. The movement of certain highly talented sportsmen into 'White' sport and society had clear parallels to those who attempted 'to pass for White' in the early years of Apartheid. Part of the motivation behind the earlier separation of Muslims from Christian football units was that their darker skin and non-European customs did not fit the administration's assimilationist, middle-class outlook. Therefore, as a whole, Muslims were highly antagonistic to those who tried 'to pass for White'.⁵⁸ The phrase 'we're not good enough' has clear allusions to this practice. Bluebells, in opposition to integration that it believed would split 'respectable' middle-class Christian Coloureds from their darker skinned Muslim counterparts, was pushed to support the tenets and ideology behind the Double Standards resolution.

There is also evidence that Bluebells' stance was rooted in 'confusion'. Bluebells' official statement on the incident declared the decision was made 'in accordance with the SA Federation Policy'.⁵⁹ In February 1977 SACOS was yet to officially sanction Double Standards and the SASF only ratified the dogma in November 1978. Indeed, the President of the SASF, Norman Middleton unequivocally backed Mahoney arguing it was a cricketing issue and the player himself was not to blame.⁶⁰ It is fitting that the incident that originated the Double Standards resolution inside the WPFB took place with such muddled beliefs.

⁵⁸ For evidence of a more radical Muslim community, see Haron, "The Muslim News".

⁵⁹ Lennie Kleintjies, "The Great Mahoney Muddle", *Cape Herald*, 1/3/77.

⁶⁰ Lennie Kleintjies, "No Action on Double Standards", *Cape Herald*, 19/4/77.

Confusion around the meaning, underlying ideology and effects became a hallmark of the resolution's implementation.

The fallout was swift. While Glenville manager Fred Eagles attacked Bluebells stating "It is a sad state of affairs if they bring politics into sport",⁶¹ Cape District as an institution decided to 'almost unanimously' back Bluebells and expelled Mahoney.⁶² This reflected a growing Muslim and political influence in the unit which had seen Steve Dublin, the ex-Duncan Rovers Chief who had been influential in breaking the 'Muslim clause' in the 1960s, become President. It was not only though a reflection of 'politicisation'. As Alliance had learned in the UCT affair, the suspension of clubs had consequences. Of the three clubs suspended by Alliance during the incident, not one returned to the unit once reinstated; Blackpool went to the Cape Flats FA and Clarewood and Castle Celtic passed over to Cape District. Bluebells had allies, not least within the strong Muslim faction within the unit. If Bluebells had been suspended, the unit ran the risk of a mass walkout which would have thrown the administration into turmoil and risked the very future of the institution.

Opponents who objected to both the methods and stance of Bluebells existed; for instance Woodside's chairman, Bennie Abrahams, asked why Mahoney was not acceptable, but Glenville (whom Bluebells were due to play against) were. Glenville had played against White Cape Town City earlier in the year.⁶³ Regardless of this position, Woodside's delegate to Cape District voted with Bluebells. Despite Cape District's rapidly radicalising stance and its later withdrawal from the WPFB for two years, there is no evidence any club left the unit in opposition. The clubs that objected had no wish to leave Cape District or to force a confrontation with the 'politicised' group. The Cape District League was regarded as the strongest in the Board. Any schism risked the unit's soccer; a risk the clubs seemed unwilling to take. Within Cape District, clubs such as Woodside and Bluebells came from essentially opposite viewpoints, but both decided to support the Double Standards resolution

⁶¹ "Refused to accept Mahoney as Referee", *Cape Argus*, 25/2/77.

⁶² "Mahoney has to go", *Cape Herald*, 15/3/77.

⁶³ "District accused of Double Standards", *Cape Herald*, 22/3/77.

as Bluebells had applied it. Bluebells saw Mahoney's cricket defection as the thin end of a wedge, an early move in a mass exodus that would threaten the Coloured community, the WPFB as an institution and their football. Increasingly they and others agreed that the end of Apartheid was the only means to destroy this threat. Woodside meanwhile viewed the incident in more immediate sporting terms; they had no issue with Mahoney's actions – they were a cricketing matter. They only sought to retain unity and the future of their soccer.

Cape District's decision, for political and sporting reasons, was to back Bluebells and refer the matter to the WPFB. However a special Board meeting called to discuss the issue ended with no clear mandate. Instead, with the exception of Central and the Cape FA, the units gave no clear decision and referred the decision to the SASF.⁶⁴ The Federation could/would not make a ruling either.⁶⁵ No-one – the units, the WPFB executive or the SASF – seemed happy with the situation.⁶⁶ The 'political' faction was however becoming increasingly influential not just within Cape District, but across WPFB units. The WPFB Executive and most units attempted to avoid a confrontation and possible schism by refusing to act.

The WPFB stumbled on in an uncertain, ill-defined and contradictory manner. It accepted the validity of the Cape District resolution on non-racial sport, essentially its own version of the Double Standards resolution, on the grounds it did not contradict Federation or Board policy.⁶⁷ However it remained coy on dealing with defectors. The *Cape Herald* reported that Danny Marais was well-known to have played in the WPFA (Hartleyvale) with Bayview United, but returned to Magnolia (WPFA) without Board clearance. Despite this reported

⁶⁴ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 10/3/77.

⁶⁵ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 17/3/77.

⁶⁶ These actions were eerily similar to Merrett's description of the mixed Aurora cricket club's affiliation to the Maritzburg Cricket Union (MCU). As Merrett describes, the MCU, provincial and national cricketing organisations, local authorities and the national government believed Aurora's actions to contravene the spirit (if not the letter) of their laws. Regardless each group refused to outright oppose Aurora or back the club or mixed sport and their actions were tacitly allowed. See Merrett, "Aurora".

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 19/5/77.

knowledge, the WPFB took no action on Marais, stating it had no official report of his defection.⁶⁸ The Board also continued a non-political stance by refusing to take part in a sporting blackout called by the Soweto Students' Representative Council to commemorate the anniversary of the Soweto Uprisings; the FPL, SANFA and the SACOS-affiliated South African Rugby Union (SARU) all participated in the blackout.⁶⁹

Despite the Board's attempts to take a middle ground, relations with Cape District increasingly polarised. Steve Dublin termed Norman Middleton a 'racialist' due to his CRC links⁷⁰ and condemned Secretary Vincent Baartjes for not knowing "what a principle is".⁷¹ While Cape District remained in the Board for the time being, the situation became increasingly untenable. An eventual clash and need for the Board 'to take a side' was termed 'inevitable'.⁷²

Jock Mahoney meanwhile was left without a sporting home. He returned to Cape District briefly in late May after his lawyers intervened,⁷³ but was made increasingly unwelcome. In cricket, he left Pinelands and re-joined the WPCB through the University of the Western Cape (UWC) team, citing the fact that if he had carried on playing in the WPCU he would not have been able to coach his son at his school.⁷⁴ His return did not last long; by the end of 1977 his membership of the WPCB was terminated. Unwilling to go back to the WPCU asking "How could I go on playing in heaven when schoolchildren on the Cape Flats play in hell?",⁷⁵ Mahoney was left as a 'man without a country'.⁷⁶ His own ability to continue his sport was barely thought about.

The Mahoney Incident left a lasting impression on the WPFB. Cape District, with SACOS support, took up an oppositional role to the WPFB and SASF who refused to implement the

⁶⁸ "Marais Back in the Fold?", *Cape Herald*, 26/4/77.

⁶⁹ "Sport Blackout a mark of respect", *Cape Herald*, 21/6/77.

⁷⁰ "Soccer Unity Nearer", *Cape Herald*, 17/5/77.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Cape Argus*, 30/10/78.

⁷³ *Cape Herald*, 31/5/77.

⁷⁴ Jimmy Atkins, "Jock's Shock", *Cape Herald*, 10/9/77.

⁷⁵ "The Rest vs Jock", *Cape Argus*, 18/2/78.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Double Standards resolution. The actions prompted by Bluebells' refusal to take the field created a pattern that was generally followed. Clubs, units and the WPFB Executive sought to retain unity, while debates over what exactly the Double Standards resolution intended rumbled on in a confused manner. The WPFB, in general more concerned with immediate sporting matters, lacked the will or the impetus to either wholeheartedly back the political faction or outright oppose them.

The Failure of Integration in the Western Cape

At the same time as the Mahoney Incident rocked the WPFB, national events caused the White FASA and its associates to again make overtures to the SASF. Their moves were predicated on moves by the professional NFL clubs. In August 1977, four-time NFL winners Durban City announced their intention to join the Federation. The club owner, Norman Elliott, explained his decision with the statement, "I have wrestled with my conscience long enough ... I can no longer continue to play multi-national sport".⁷⁷ Most reports at the time doubted the sincerity of Elliott's professed politics and regarded the move as financially motivated, a calculated effort to bring back the club's dwindling Indian support.⁷⁸ Cape Town City, R127 000 in debt and with its large Coloured fan base, soon indicated its willingness to follow suit.⁷⁹ Most of the remaining teams from coastal regions, where the SASF had a strong presence and NFL teams received a large percentage of their crowds from Coloureds and Indians, soon agreed to enter talks to join the FPL. In October it was reported that the NFL and FASA would be joining the SASF.⁸⁰ The Federation struck a triumphalist tone with Middleton claiming the move 'was the final recognition that race should have no place in

⁷⁷ Darrell Thomson, "Why I've Joined the Fed", *Sunday Tribune*, 21/8/77.

⁷⁸ Wim van Volsen, "Durban City join the Federation", *Sunday Express*, 21/8/77.

⁷⁹ "CT City, R127 000 in the red, faces the auctioneer", *Cape Times*, 1/9/77.

⁸⁰ " 'Victory' As White Soccer Goes Fed", *Natal Mercury*, 4/10/77.

soccer'.⁸¹ A few days later FASA voted unanimously to disband and join the Federation by 29 October.

Despite strong words and assurances, the agreement broke down almost immediately. As two Rand NFL clubs, Highlands Park and Arcadia Shepherds, began to make overtures to the SANFA-administered NPSL,⁸² FASA affiliates rescinded their previous decision and called for a merger.⁸³ The SASF had consistently rejected this proposition since the breakdown of the first unity talks in 1977.⁸⁴ Returning to narratives seen in the UCT affair, Middleton questioned FASA's integrity and sincerity.⁸⁵ The WPFB, in a special meeting, unanimously decided to reject future talks with FASA since it 'had failed to prove its bona-fides by not disbanding'.⁸⁶ Quite how serious the prospect was of FASA joining the Federation is questionable; Eric Dalton, then Vice-President of the White WPFA (Hartleyvale), claimed he did not know of any unity talks pre-mid-1980s.⁸⁷ Either Middleton was correct in questioning FASA's 'integrity' or the situation was so confused and uncertain that few can accurately remember or even knew what was happening.

FASA's failure to disband effectively ended the prospect of Coloured-White amateur unity but at the professional level NFL teams continued to affiliate to the FPL. While the four Transvaal teams (Arcadia Shepherds, Germiston Callies, Lusitano and Wits) withdrew and joined the NPSL, the rest of the NFL teams all applied to join the FPL.⁸⁸ Despite no full Board meeting to sanction the event, in January the WPFB organised a Castle Lager Bowl competition between the four Cape Town professional teams, Hellenic, Cape Town City, Cape Town Spurs and Glenville. Wally Henkel lionised the new tournament:

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Dave Beattie, "Federation Calm as Storm Brews", *The Citizen*, 5/10/77.

⁸³ Rory Brown, "Soccer talks planned", *Sunday Express*, 28/10/77.

⁸⁴ "Middleton rejects dialogue with FASA", *Cape Argus*, 2/11/77.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 3/11/77.

⁸⁷ Interview with Eric Dalton, 10/2/15.

⁸⁸ The FPL it should be noted was directly controlled by the Federation whereas the NPSL, despite strong links to SANFA, was autonomous.

the competition heralded a new era in soccer. The entire soccer community has been waiting long enough for this competition in which all the soccer teams in the Peninsula will vie with each other.⁸⁹

The series took place with 'no seating restrictions'⁹⁰ and was a sporting success. While Hellenic took home the spoils, the Coloured clubs by no means disgraced themselves; Glenville beat Cape Town City and Spurs were only defeated in the final on penalties.⁹¹

Despite the tournament's success, a Board meeting from the end of February reveals that the failure of amateur unity had made WPFB members increasingly hostile towards the prospect of unity. The Board, as noted in Chapter 1, had always been dispassionate about professional soccer and viewed it as a secondary concern to the amateur code. Led by Cape District and Central the Executive was officially censured by the meeting for not consulting a full Board meeting before the tournament took place.⁹² Correspondence from District accused the Board Executive of 'selling out on amateur football'.⁹³ It is clear that to the vast majority of delegates professional unity was at best a peripheral concern. The same could be said for fans. While amateur unit leagues were well attended, the crowds at the Coloured professional teams Cape Town Spurs and Glenville had steadily fallen to minute levels by 1980; only 500 people attended one Spurs match while Glenville's attendances were even worse.⁹⁴

For sporting reasons, amateur football unity was always less likely than at the professional level; the disparity in facilities and playing standard was much wider. The Coloured professional teams played at Athlone Stadium where the facilities were comparable to Hartleyvale; those encountered by the amateur Cape Flats FA on the 'grass triangles'

⁸⁹ "Mixed Soccer knock-out for Cape", *Cape Argus*, 12/1/78.

⁹⁰ Lennie Kleintjies, "Open Seats for Top Four Clash", *Cape Herald*, 21/1/78.

⁹¹ "Glenville Snatch Surprise Win" and "Penalty Test Ends Cup Clash", *Cape Argus*, 25/2/78.

⁹² UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 26/2/78.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Lennie Kleintjies, "City Clubs Battle for Survival", *Cape Herald*, 24/5/80.

around the N2 and the White amateur association were not.⁹⁵ Amateur unity would also have led to WPFA (Hartleyvale) clubs being forced into the unitary system of the Board. While the standard of soccer at the highest level may have been similar, within unit leagues standards were much lower than in the centralised Hartleyvale system.

Despite obvious anger the Board as a collective still rejected radical solutions. A resolution, tabled by Johann Groepe of Cape Flats and Errol Burgess of Central, to withdraw from the SASF and sell Cape Town Spurs in protest at continued negotiations with FASA, was rejected.⁹⁶ This move would have threatened not only its professional football (through the sale of Spurs), but also its amateur football as it would have been reduced to the status of a 'rebel' organisation.⁹⁷ To those who viewed events primarily from a sporting perspective this was indefensible. Instead, by a vote of 15-5, a resolution was passed that called on the WPFA (Hartleyvale) to provide written assurance it would join the Board within one month or otherwise Cape Town Spurs would be withdrawn from the (integrated) FPL.⁹⁸

Following these events, Cape District decided to withdraw from the WPFB, stating that the 'Unit is not satisfied with the developments both Nationally and Provincially'.⁹⁹ Steve Dublin explained:

normal football could never be played in this country. Time will prove us correct. We do not want to get into the sewerage politics of this country.¹⁰⁰

Cape Flats soon followed District in walking out although it returned within the month. The reversal of the decision was supported by Chris Stevens, the unit's founding President, arguing that:

⁹⁵ "Cape Flats FA React over Ploughed Fields", *Cape Herald*, 15/9/73.

⁹⁶ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 26/2/78.

⁹⁷ i.e. they would have had no national governing body.

⁹⁸ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 26/2/78.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2/3/78.

¹⁰⁰ Lennie Kleintjies, "Soccer Split as Unions Pull Out", *Cape Herald*, 11/3/78.

I have always considered Cape Flats not only as a home for soccer – but an amenity for the residents of Heideveld and Manenberg. In the interest of soccer I think it was a sound move by the union.¹⁰¹

Cape Flats' quick reversal of the decision to leave the WPFB in support of the Double Standards resolution serves as a stark reminder that units were intensely divided on how they viewed the resolution. Flats had initially opted to follow Dublin's political stance, essentially a rephrasing of 'no normal sport in an abnormal society'. Stevens however represents a sporting focus. As noted in Chapter 1, one of the Board's Institutional Logics was the attribution of a moral duty to its undertakings and the sport of football in general. Football in many communities was viewed as too important to lose. Within units there were deep divides over the Double Standards resolution and to take a strong stance, one way or another, risked the organisation's future.¹⁰²

On a professional level, the former NFL teams soon solved the debate over their continued affiliation to the FPL. Cape Town City left the league in April citing a refusal to move its juniors and reserves from the WPFA (Hartleyvale) and went over to the NPSL.¹⁰³ A steady stream of White clubs followed and by the end of the year all of the former NFL clubs had left the Federation.¹⁰⁴ With their withdrawal, the opposition to the Double Standards resolution took another hit. The main alternative to the resolution, integration, had become a moot point. The White clubs could or would not at professional or amateur level join the

¹⁰¹ Lennie Kleintjies, "Groepe Quits in About Face", *Cape Herald*, 18/3/78.

¹⁰² Cape District, a Dominant, highly established unit since 1929 with the financial prowess afforded by the ownership of the William Herbert Sports ground, was perhaps unique in its ability to go 'independent' with relative future security. The unit remained outside the auspices of the Board for two years and yet no examples of defections, by clubs or players, were found.

¹⁰³ "Middleton Deplores City move", *Cape Argus*, 4/4/78.

¹⁰⁴ Despite unprecedented sponsorship in the NPSL that saw a rise from R75 000 to R325 000 between 1978 and 1982, Cape Town City was forced to close its doors (Alegi and Bolsmann, "From Apartheid to Unity", 11). The club entered liquidation in October 1979 citing falling attendances, weather, financial inadequacies and a chaotic professional football structure.

Federation. Coloured opponents of the resolution were beginning to risk following the fate of Jock Mahoney and becoming a group 'without a country'.¹⁰⁵

The Noose Tightens

As the prospects for integration evaporated, SACOS tightened the noose on the SASF's refusal to implement the Double Standards resolution. In March 1978, the Federation was suspended for six months 'for accommodating white clubs and players'.¹⁰⁶ While official policy remained that SASF players could take part in other SACOS-administered codes, the radicalised, Howa-controlled WPCB decided to reject SASF members in some instances; the Dynamos (FPL) player Mansoor Abdullah was told that he could not take part in the WPCB due to his SASF affiliation.¹⁰⁷ The position of the thousands of WPFB players who also played WPCB cricket in the summer suddenly became uncertain. WPFB members, even those who opposed the Double Standards resolution ideologically as an intrusion of politics into sport, were faced with the possibility of being forced into a choice between accepting the resolution and giving up their other sports. From a sporting perspective, the resolution was given an extra impetus.

Despite the collapse of integration prospects at amateur and professional level and the pronouncement by the SACB of SASF members as Double Standards transgressors, the SASF remained unwilling to implement the resolution. In the 1978 SASF Presidential elections Paul David, a strong proponent of Double Standards, was defeated 31-10 by Norman Middleton.¹⁰⁸ Middleton's primarily sporting approach was still preferred over David

¹⁰⁵ "The Rest vs Jock", *Cape Argus*, 18/2/78.

¹⁰⁶ "Middleton Rap for SACOS on Fed Criticism", *Cape Argus*, 6/3/78.

¹⁰⁷ Lennie Kleintjies, "Soccer Player in Cricket Shock", *Cape Herald*, 25/3/78.

¹⁰⁸ "Middleton, Buthelezi re-elected", *Daily Dispatch*, 5/7/78.

who viewed the SASF as primarily part of the anti-Apartheid movement and used phrases such as 'talking the language of the liberation struggle'.¹⁰⁹

On 4 November 1978, SACOS formally expelled the Federation for failing to implement the Double Standards resolution.¹¹⁰ Amidst warnings of SASF members having membership in other sports bodies revoked and rumours of the genesis of a rival SACOS-backed football association, the SASF finally accepted the resolution and ruled its affiliates must do the same. Despite the acceptance by its Governance Unit and all of the factors pushing towards the Double Standards resolution's implementation, the WPFB still refused. In a close vote of 11-10¹¹¹ the resolution was rejected and the WPFB left the Federation.¹¹² Several weeks later, the Board took the flawed decision to return to the SASF, but not to implement Double Standards.¹¹³ Chairman Wally Henkel explained their position:

soccer players were interested only in playing soccer- not in the political fighting behind the scenes

Other codes are trying to use soccer to achieve their own political ends and the attempt to force soccer to apply the double standards resolution is one way of doing it.¹¹⁴

The statements by Henkel suggest that despite the political stance of Cape District, the group that believed in the primacy of sport still held sway within the Board. He describes his stance as rooted in soccer and not in politics. Quite apart from the perspective of SACOS that sport and politics were inexorably intertwined under Apartheid, the resolution was viewed only as a product of political manoeuvring at SACOS; Ronald Harrison, a Cape Flats delegate, termed SACOS "to be centred around a personality clash for prestige and

¹⁰⁹ "Middleton Lashed for Unity Talks", *Cape Herald*, 21/10/78.

¹¹⁰ Lennie Kleintjies, "Fed Split Looms over Unity Talks", *Cape Herald*, 4/11/78.

¹¹¹ It should be noted that District's stance meant that it could not vote.

¹¹² UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 12/11/78.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 29/11/78.

¹¹⁴ "Soccer Used for 'Political Ends' – Henkel", *Cape Herald*, 18/11/78.

definitely not serving sport".¹¹⁵ Even worse, in some quarters the resolution was viewed only as an authoritarian attempt to control; Les Mondo of the Northerns union compared the resolution to the "methods ... of Communist Russia."¹¹⁶

The Board was left in limbo. As its position in the football structure was irreversibly transformed, the Board attempted to take a middle ground. The WPFB chose to stay in the SASF (and therefore SACOS), but reject the Double Standards resolution.¹¹⁷ While the Board remained static, the situation increasingly polarised. Defections to the White WPFA (Hartleyvale) persisted and concurrently support for Cape District continued to grow; Central left the Board in February citing its failure to implement the resolution.¹¹⁸ The new challenge for the WPFB did to an extent cut across old class divides. Cape District was generally perceived to be a middle-class, traditional Dominant while Central, based in Bellville, was thought of as a lower-class, traditional Challenger. The varied nature of this challenge made it much more difficult to effectively oppose.

While the rumoured rival SACOS-administered football association never materialised,¹¹⁹ several 'rebel' unions looked to fill the void that the WPFB not implementing the Double Standards resolution had created. In 1978, the Peninsula Soccer Union, a league of 15 teams which took place on Sundays,¹²⁰ attempted to establish itself as a rival to the Board by applying directly to WPCOS.¹²¹ The Union claimed that its motivation was that "Our idea of non-racialism seems to be different to that of Mr. Norman Middleton."¹²² The rapidly growing Mitchells Plain FA (who joined the WPFB in 1982) briefly also attempted to launch a rival organisation. The *Cape Herald* reported in 1979 that it had 'called on soccer unions

¹¹⁵ Yunus Agherdien, "Board votes Against SACOS ruling", *Cape Times*, 14/11/78.

¹¹⁶ Dougie Oakes, "How like-minded whites would have smiled", *Cape Herald*, 9/12/78.

¹¹⁷ The SASF was reinstated to SACOS in September 1979. " 'Racialists must get out' – Sacos", *Cape Herald*, 8/9/79.

¹¹⁸ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 25/2/79.

¹¹⁹ Dougie Oakes, "Links Cut with Soccer Feds", *Cape Herald*, 16/2/80.

¹²⁰ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 1/6/76.

¹²¹ Lennie Kleintjies, "New Soccer Body Plan", *Cape Herald*, 15/4/78.

¹²² *Ibid.*

who support the Sacos double standards resolution to form a body in opposition to the Western Province Football Board.¹²³ Throughout the time that Cape District and Central remained outside the auspices of the Board, both units had strong links to Mitchells Plain FA and other 'rebel' organisations and acted as a boon to their aspirations of creating a rival board. It should be noted that the proclaimed political motivation of these organisations, particularly Mitchells Plain FA, was heavily questioned at the time.¹²⁴

The prospect of a rival organisation was something the WPFB took very seriously. It provided a sporting and institutional survival impetus to implement the Double Standards resolution. The Board, the role of its administrators and its football were placed in peril. In 1979, in an unprecedented move designed to avoid the creation of a rival organisation, the Board overnight increased in size by 50% by accepting six new units: the Atlantis FA, Retreat and District, Hanover Park FA, Manenberg FA, Cloeteville FA and the Inter-denominational FA.¹²⁵ The WPFB did not finish there; feelers were put out to groups in Langa and Gugulethu¹²⁶ and by 1984 five more units, including the Mitchells Plain FA, the FAWP and the Gugulethu FA, had joined the Board. Many of these organisations would previously have been rejected due to the Board's interest in order and the constitution. For instance, the Cloeteville FA was based in a township on the outskirts of Stellenbosch and was tiny in comparison to the existing Board units. In 1979 it had only 166 members and was smaller than the Metropolitan club Sea Point Swifts.¹²⁷

As the WPFB attempted to forge a path that would retain the unified institution after the climax of the affair, the Double Standards resolution continued to evolve. In September 1979 the initial resolution was amended to outlaw the participation in any government body

¹²³ "Middleton Unconvinced by 'rival' Body", *Cape Herald*, 28/4/79.

¹²⁴ See UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, Secretarial Report 1979.

¹²⁵ "6 to Join and 1 to Leave WP Board?", *Cape Herald*, 3/3/79.

¹²⁶ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 27/8/78.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, MCH82-15-1-1, Secretarial Report 1979.

which 'designed and/or promote(d) the separateness of people'.¹²⁸ This included Local Management Committees (LMCs), any government run sports organisation and, critically for Norman Middleton, the CRC. The function of the resolution adapted from instilling internal discipline to a tactic of 'political purification'.¹²⁹ While the ideology behind the Double Standards resolution had always been rooted in anti-Apartheid sentiment, the resolution now expressly called for all members to act in a non-collaborationist manner. In SACOS, the amendment perhaps reflects the apex of 'politicised' decision making.

The amendment was accompanied by a strongly worded SACOS statement to the SASF stating that 'Racialists (including President Norman Middleton) must get out'.¹³⁰ The SASF refused the demand and was expelled again in February 1980.¹³¹ Finally the SASF, faced again with the prospect of organisational ostracism from SACOS, decided to implement the Double Standards resolution on a much more stringent basis and ruled that 'all members must sever ties with CRC, LMC, LAC within 30 days'.¹³² The WPFB was told to either implement the policy or leave the Federation for good. Faced with the prospect of its members being barred from other SACOS organisations, the potential for a rival SASF-backed Coloured football association in the Western Cape, the continued refusal of Central and Cape District to re-join the WPFB and the seeming lack of a viable alternative, Chairman Wally Henkel, a long-time opponent of the resolution, called on the Board to accept. His plea was heeded and the resolution was passed with a 24-3 majority with the only delegates voting against hailing from the Metropolitan Union and the newly affiliated Retreat FA.¹³³ Sporting imperatives had finally coincided with political ones. Institutional survival had become predicated on implementing the Double Standards resolution (at least publicly).

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, MCH82 15-1-2, Printed Document.

¹²⁹ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 57.

¹³⁰ " 'Racialists must get out' – Sacos", *Cape Herald*, 8/9/79.

¹³¹ Dougie Oakes, "Links Cut with Soccer Feds", *Cape Herald*, 16/2/80.

¹³² UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, SASF meeting, 1/3/80.

¹³³ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 9/3/80.

The (part-)Implementation of the Double Standards Resolution

The Board quickly attempted to restore its control within the context of implementing the Double Standards resolution. Cape District returned to the WPFB in September and Central followed soon after.¹³⁴ The Board began doling out suspensions to defectors and agreed to honour suspensions on policy from other codes of sport.¹³⁵ Companies who offered sponsorship were vetted for political affiliations; an offer from Johnson's Sportswear in 1981 was rejected due to the company falling foul of Double Standards and encouraging clubs to join the WPFA (Hartleyvale).¹³⁶ The controversial Industrial Leagues, previously WPFB associates, were outlawed.¹³⁷ The Industrial Leagues, run by White businesses some with explicit links to the government, had been a contentious issue for several years. While as a rival soccer organisation they had always been disapproved of, they had not previously been opposed since refusing to play might have affected employment prospects.

Despite these moves, it seems that the resolution was never fully appropriated and was often only implemented in part. This is illustrated by the experiences of Joe Schaffers. Schaffers went over to play cricket for Landsdowne in the WPCU in the early 1980s despite also playing in Alliance with Aerials. He explained his decision:

I had never ever played on turf and I also thought this boycott thing and stuff, it's head banging, we're not getting anywhere here. Because both sides are refusing to get this understanding of each other and what it was. And of course any so-called White sides decide they would be opening up their doors and some of the so-called Coloured cricketers would come across. And I went across not because I simply wanted to play, I thought

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, Secretarial Report 1981.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 27/2/83.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 23/8/81.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 15/7/82.

to myself. Look we always say that given the chance we can show them how good we are or maybe how bad we are ummm ... let me go across and see what we can do, what I can do, to get ... to get my own satisfaction.¹³⁸

By the terms of the Double Standards resolution Schaffers, due to his WPCU membership, should not have been allowed to be a member of the Alliance FA. Alliance President Sydney Lotter however refused to discipline Schaffers:

It was brought to his attention that I am playing on the White side and I'm still playing soccer there. And Lotter stood up and said in the Union meeting that while I am not playing soccer on the White side, it's completely divorced from the sport of soccer; and it's cricket. So I will be, will not be kicked out, I will not be ostracised and I will play for Alliance league.¹³⁹

While some new administrators, such as Abie Adams who became the first Muslim Chairman of the WPFb in the mid-1980s, with a highly politicised outlook had risen through the ranks of the WPFb, the vast majority of administrators remained holdovers from the previous era. Unlike the newly formed WPCB, the administration of the WPFb and its units was still strongly connected to the earlier Institutional Settlement and the old methods of dominance. They were still divided on the issue of integration. Lotter himself had been a leading adherent of UCT during its affiliation. The Double Standards resolution was always limited by SACOS's inability, unlike a state, to 'police and punish "transgression"'.¹⁴⁰ The enactment of suspensions relied upon the co-operation of individual grassroots administrators who often had separate sporting concerns.

¹³⁸, Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Lester et al., *South Africa: Past, Present*, 10.

In cases where suspensions were not applied, the only remaining punishment was 'ostracism' from the community. Newspapers of the period often discussed defectors being ostracised and becoming detached from their community.¹⁴¹ This method however relied upon public support. While Schaffers noted that some guys 'didn't want to talk to you', he stated that to him it 'was water off a duck's back'.¹⁴² Schaffers' experiences of 'ostracism' were at most a small inconvenience. It was limited to a small number of people and does not seem to have deterred his actions.

Drawn by the greener pastures and better facilities of the White WPFA (Hartleyvale) and with punishments often not materialising, there remained a constant trickle of players out of the WPFB. The situation in late 1983 was summarised by an article in the *Cape Herald*:

For, even though the non-racial sport bosses of Federation and the Western Province Football Board are dishing out lengthy suspensions to players who return when they find the grass is not so green on the other side, defections go on.¹⁴³

The article notes that as many as eight footballers who had taken part in the SACOS festival in the previous October were now playing in the NPSL.¹⁴⁴

It was not only individuals who passed over to the 'other side'. In 1982, after Cape Town Spurs was sold by the WPFB to Ronnie Martin, Spurs and Glenville left the FPL to join the NPSL. Some players such as Danny Agulhas opted to remain in the Federation,¹⁴⁵ but the vast majority of the Spurs administration and around half of the players moved with the club.¹⁴⁶ Even Glenville, which was not accepted into the NPSL first division and went into the African WCSB, was able to continue with minimal losses of personnel. On an amateur level, major clubs such as Stephanians (Alliance, 1982) and Jamestown United (Cape FA,

¹⁴¹ See *Cape Herald*, 1/3/77, *Athlone News*, 7/6/86.

¹⁴² Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15.

¹⁴³ Brian Gaffney, "Soccer's Great Exodus Continues", *Cape Herald*, 8/10/83.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Dougie Oakes, "Spurs Players Say No", *Cape Herald*, 9/1/82.

¹⁴⁶ Lennie Kleintjies, "Spurs Boss is Happy", *Cape Argus*, 8/2/82.

1982) defected and joined the WPFA (Hartleyvale). This was despite stark warnings in the *Cape Herald* that the moves 'would almost certainly kill the junior section' since few schoolchildren would sacrifice their school sport to continue with the two clubs.¹⁴⁷

If taken from the viewpoint of the 'political' SACOS, the Double Standards resolution had proven ineffective in the WPFB. It had neither instilled 'internal discipline' nor had it achieved 'political purification'.¹⁴⁸ Within the WPFB it was often viewed as having been forced on the institution from outside. Wally Henkel stated that it was:

never the board's intention to implement the double standards policy until they had fully investigated the matter and that the board would find itself saddled with problems once it was implemented.¹⁴⁹

This suggests that the WPFB's attitude can be explained by continued antagonism towards the resolution while wishing to remain within the SASF.

The stance of the WPFB, due to its predominantly sporting outlook, was very different however. While the WPFB by no means implemented the policy fully, it was still largely followed. After its implementation in 1980 the WPFB never called for its repeal. It was not that this stance was impossible in the context; the SASF affiliate Orange Free State Union left the Federation in 1981 on the grounds that it needed to utilise LMCs for its survival.¹⁵⁰ The WPFB went further than just acceptance. In April 1981 the Board, by a vote of 19-9, agreed to release a statement against Norman Middleton's continued role as SASF President (he was removed from the position a month later and replaced by former WPFB Chairman Matt Seegers).¹⁵¹ Despite clear and concerted opposition, the WPFB increasingly allowed itself to be defined by the resolution. While there were cases of defectors escaping punishment, others received harsh punishments. In 1981 Vincent Baartjes stated that

¹⁴⁷ *Cape Herald*, 25/10/82.

¹⁴⁸ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 57.

¹⁴⁹ "Soccer Board Spells it Out", *Cape Herald*, 28/2/81.

¹⁵⁰ Lennie Kleintjies, "Middleton's Fate in the Balance", *Cape Herald*, 2/5/81.

¹⁵¹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 26/4/81.

defectors would not receive 'any leeway'.¹⁵² Life suspensions for defection were not uncommon; Ocean View suspended Henry Brown, Cliffe Carelse and John Laguma for life after they were found to have played in the Cape Western League (WPFA (Hartleyvale)).¹⁵³ The decision to outlaw the Industrial Leagues was reported to have forced thousands to quit the Leagues.¹⁵⁴

In the light of the experiences already noted earlier in the chapter, these actions seem to be inconsistent and lack coherent logic. The WPFB, however, whilst it had agreed to implement the Double Standards resolution it had not done so for the same reasons as SACOS. Predominantly, the institution still viewed the resolution as part of its goal:

To promote, foster and control professional football and amateur Association football in the Western Province.¹⁵⁵

It did not utilise the resolution as a 'strategy against apartheid per se'.¹⁵⁶ Instead they implemented it with sporting goals in mind. These can be examined through the WPFB's actions in three major controversies that surrounded the Double Standards resolution's implementation.

The first major fallout from the resolution was when Metropolitan withdrew from the Board. President Bert Erickson and several other administrators were members of the non-SACOS affiliated WPCU club Avendale and refused to sever their ties with their cricket team. Despite Erickson offering his resignation, the unit declared its support for him and Metropolitan unanimously decided to withdraw from the Board.¹⁵⁷ The issue only abated a year later when Erickson refused to stand for re-election.¹⁵⁸ The only dissenting voice in the withdrawal seems to have been Sea Point Swifts who left the Union to join the WPFA.

¹⁵² "Soccer Board Spells it Out", *Cape Herald*, 28/2/81.

¹⁵³ Barry Hopwood, "Showdown over George Freddy", *Cape Herald*, 30/4/83.

¹⁵⁴ *The Grapine*, 24/7/81.

¹⁵⁵ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-2-1, WPFB minute books, 21/3/71.

¹⁵⁶ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 51.

¹⁵⁷ Dennis Cruywagen, "Mets have left WP Board", *Cape Times*, 21/1/81.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Second Focus Group, Bert Erickson, 24/10/07.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the episode is the complete lack of politics. Erickson states unambiguously that he had no political motivation and that his decision was predicated on his close association to Avendale (as a founder member).¹⁵⁹ The unanimous support given to Erickson by the Union seems to have been in a similar vein to Lotter's support of Schaffers noted earlier i.e. that cricket had nothing to do with football. Even Sea Point Swifts' stance was seemingly apolitical; a Swifts official stated the reason for leaving was:

Because of Metropolitan's stupidity, our club has lost nine of last year's first team squad, and a number of our most promising juniors.¹⁶⁰

Swifts, who had moved to Bonteheuwel from Tramway Road in Sea Point due to forced removals, had not in the past been strong proponents of politics. In 1980 the club was reported to have taken part in the FASA-organised Bellville tournament.¹⁶¹ It seems that the goal of stability was the key motivation to all actors in this instance. Erickson wanted to carry on playing his sport (cricket), the Metropolitan Union wanted to retain Erickson, its President for the past 18 years, as leader and the Swifts club wanted to ensure the survival of the club and its junior section.

A similar process can be identified in the controversy surrounding the Chairman of the Atlantis FA, Sydney Louw, and his position as head of the Atlantis LMC.¹⁶² LMCs were of great importance in 'new' towns such as Atlantis since facilities were still being provided and they were a powerful means of pressurising the government to provide them. The town which had been built in the late 1970s, had 25 000 residents by 1980, but just 15 policemen.¹⁶³ Louw refused to quit the LMC stating that "I have done a lot for Atlantis".¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ "Team Hit by Mets Withdrawal", *Cape Herald*, 21/2/81.

¹⁶¹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 23/3/80.

¹⁶² He had previously been an Alliance member and Recording Secretary of the Board.

¹⁶³ *The Atlantian*, 9/12/80.

¹⁶⁴ Dougie Oakes, "Suspended", *Cape Herald*, 5/4/80.

Instead, he chose to quit his position as chairman of the Atlantis FA. The response of the FA though was to immediately attempt to make Louw a life member.¹⁶⁵ While this request was rejected, neither Atlantis nor the WPFB Executive cut ties with ex-Alliance member Louw; in 1982 he was noted to be taking official photographs for the Board itself.¹⁶⁶ Seemingly Louw unofficially continued within the Board.

That politics remained at best a secondary motivator within the Board is summarised by an incident involving Cape District, the champions of the Double Standards resolution within the WPFB. Yorkshire AFC (one of the oldest Board clubs) was instructed by WPCOS to rescind the membership of Herschelle Gibbs, the future South African Test cricketer, since he attended the private White St Joseph's Marist College. The club, in a unanimous decision,¹⁶⁷ refused this directive stating "If the boy goes, we go".¹⁶⁸ Cape District, despite its earlier 'politicisation', ruled with Yorkshire on the grounds that 'the child could not be responsible for the actions of his father'.¹⁶⁹ The stand-off that ensued was only resolved by Gibbs agreeing to leave Yorkshire FC and the WPFB of his own volition. While there could be said to be a political motivation behind the stance of Yorkshire and Cape District (the private White schools clause was a controversial amendment), the stance reveals a difference in how SACOS and grassroots actors viewed the resolution. For SACOS the clauses outlawing private White schools and the clause on 'racial' bodies were part of a 'strategy against apartheid', part of a grand plan to remove the 'abnormal society' and allow for 'normal sport'.¹⁷⁰ For Yorkshire and Cape District, however, the resolution is taken on a much smaller scale. Essentially, they refused to risk the future of their junior sections for transgressions not committed by the players themselves.

¹⁶⁵ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 22/3/81.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 27/7/82.

¹⁶⁷ "Clubs Sacos ruling", *Cape Argus*, 21/10/83.

¹⁶⁸ "Yorkshire Threatens to Quit Fed", *Cape Herald*, 27/10/83.

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Second Focus Group, Vincent Baartjes, 24/10/07.

¹⁷⁰ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 51.

The implementation of the Double Standards resolution had not fundamentally changed the outlook of the WPFB or its adherents. When Cape District left the WPFB in 1978, two main perspectives were identified on the resolution: Steve Dublin's focus on politics and Chris Stevens' on football and the survival of the Cape Flats FA as an institution. The impact of SACOS and the SASF's imposition of the Double Standards resolution on the WPFB had been to shift the latter outlook. This view remained predominant within the Board; due to the stance of the SASF (and SACOS) and the collapse of integration talks members had been convinced that the resolution was the best thing for their sport. It was utilised as a means to ensure the survival of the institution of the WPFB, to ensure the survival of its football. In this outlook sport was, at least within the WPFB context, more important than politics.

If looked at in this manner, then the decision-making of the WPFB becomes much clearer. The Double Standards resolution had not changed the stated goal of the WPFB: to promote, foster and control professional football and amateur Association football in the Western Province.¹⁷¹ As the remaining three chapters demonstrate, all of the actions of the WPFB can be explained by the institution searching for the stability that allowed it to continue striving for this goal. In this quest, the Double Standards resolution was used as a weapon rather than as a goal in itself. While SACOS viewed sport as a tool in the wider liberation struggle, the WPFB largely viewed politics (inherent in the resolution) as a tool in its wider sporting struggle.

¹⁷¹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-2-1, WPFB minute books, 21/3/71.

Chapter 4 – Unity

Shepsle describes political institutions as “ex ante agreements about a structure of cooperation” that “economize on transaction costs, reduce opportunism and other forms of agency ‘slippage,’ and thereby enhance the prospects of gains through cooperation”. Political institutions thus create stability in political life.¹

The manner and methods of the part-implementation of the Double Standards resolution by the WPFB were informed by three sporting goals that emerged as Institutional Logics and drove Board policy. These goals were primarily designed to reinstate stability, critical to the success of any institution. The first of these values was unity. While the term unity was, within the wider 1970s football context, mainly applied to the talks between the various national soccer organisations, i.e. SASF, FASA and SANFA, in the WPFB ‘unity’ was used with reference only to the Coloured community. The footballing context of the WPFB and its destabilisation, as the White and African organisations became practically as well as legally non-racial, continued to require the Board to think in these terms. In all negotiations, the WPFB protected its extant units even at the cost of the co-option of non-Coloured members/clubs. The Double Standards resolution in the WPFB, despite its anti-Apartheid roots, was primarily applied with this goal in mind. The resolution, far from being a tool to further the goal of playing football ‘with no reference to one’s colour’,² was used to further Coloured solidarity and a sense of community.

The Double Standards resolution became connected to this goal because of the institutional system of the WPFB. This framework had no means to deal with the threat represented by the political faction. Cape District and Central, by suspending their Board membership until the resolution was implemented, essentially held unity hostage. In general, WPFB

¹ Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell, “Introduction” in Walter Powell and Paul DiMaggio (ed.), *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991), 5.

² Roberts, *No Normal Sport*, 7.

associates who opposed the resolution were not willing to risk their football by leaving the Board in protest. Even Metropolitan who did resign returned after only a year. The implementation of the resolution became viewed as necessary to preserve unity.

The reason the resolution was however applied in such an asymmetric manner was that the Board continued to be threatened by the destabilisation of the football structure. Before the late 1970s the WPFB had never faced a concerted threat to its hegemony within the Coloured community. 'Rebel' organisations, the traditional rivals to the Board, were generally small in size, and incorporated players who practiced dual affiliation i.e. were also affiliated to a Board team and often sought to join the WPFB itself. The WPFA (Hartleyvale) and (to a lesser extent) the WCSA represented more powerful opponents. They were established organisations with access to their own, separate facilities.

Whenever the Board's position in the Coloured community was questioned, it called upon the narrative of unity. The UCT affair, identified as the first occasion that a White associated team affiliated to the WPFB, can also be identified as the first use of the unity trope. When the club joined the WPFB, Chairman Wally Henkel's statement read:

The executive has been guided by the constitution of the South African Soccer Federation and we thus have an obligation to all players.³

In reality the WPFB, by ruling that the UCT club must play at Rosmead regardless of a 'confrontation with the authorities'⁴ and backing the three defector clubs, essentially decided to champion the cause of some players over others. UCT, rightly or wrongly, felt that permits would have been required to play at Rosmead⁵ and sought to play at its own Pinelands ground to avoid official reprimand. The three dissenter clubs, Blackpool, Clarewood and Castle Celtic, stated no practical reasons why they could not have played at the UCT fields. Regardless the WPFB backed the dissenter clubs unequivocally. Vincent

³ "UCT Applies to Join Alliance", *Cape Herald*, 26/10/74.

⁴ "Alliance Defy the Board", *Cape Herald*, 20/9/75.

⁵ Not allowed by SASF rules.

Baartjes described his support for the severance of ties with the UCT club as based on the fact that the 'Unity of our soccer (was) ... at stake'.⁶ The Board decided that the potential rewards of co-opting the 'White' UCT club were not worth the possible schism of existing Board structures.

The interest in unity remained throughout the period. A 1983 WPFb statement on the continued stream of defectors to the WPFA (Hartleyvale) described the situation's greatest drawback as 'this whole affair is sowing disunity'.⁷ The Board stuck dogmatically to a policy that called for collective responsibility and public togetherness regardless of political ideologies. The Board's reaction to this statement by Wally Henkel, reported in the *Cape Herald*, is particularly telling:

... never the board's intention to implement the double standards policy until they had fully investigated the matter and that the board would find itself saddled with problems once it was implemented.⁸

Henkel's politics do not seem to have been an issue at the meeting; the minutes show no denial of the issues raised. Instead the Board's official proclamation read that the Executive 'was perturbed that the statement could give the impression there was division on the issue'.⁹ Unity was prized over politics. The politics of the resolution were utilised to achieve immediate sporting concerns.

The WPFb's stated aim was 'to promote, further and control amateur Association Football in the Western Province'.¹⁰ Since the 1950s, the Board's constitution held no reference to race and publicly the Board stressed a non-racial stance. Despite this, the WPFb in its actions in the late 1970s prioritised its continued pre-eminence within the Coloured

⁶ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFb minute books, 1975 Secretarial Report.

⁷ Brian Gaffney, "Soccer's Great Exodus Continues", *Cape Herald*, 8/10/83.

⁸ "Soccer Board Spells it Out", *Cape Herald*, 28/2/81.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-2-1, WPFb minute books, 21/3/71.

community over integration. As part of the FASA agreement to disband by 29 October 1977, its provincial units including the WPFA (Hartleyvale) were required to affiliate to their local SASF unit. When FASA failed to 'prove its bona-fides by not disbanding' on this date,¹¹ Board relations with the WPFA (Hartleyvale) quickly turned sour. At the 1978 AGM to discuss the situation, the WPFB Executive was censured for continued negotiations.¹² The meeting went on to re-iterate earlier calls for the WPFA (Hartleyvale) to provide written assurance that it would 'join our Board' i.e. disband and join units on an individual club basis.¹³ It was noted earlier that for the White association this was an unattractive proposition. The WPFB units had worse facilities, a lower standard of football and playing at grounds classified as Coloured by the City Council may have required permits.

The reasoning behind this stance was noted to be that any other situation was 'not conducive to well ordered amateur soccer'.¹⁴ Implicitly the statement refers only to Coloured football. At no point in any WPFB meeting in the period was the position of White players taken into account. The Board acted in its own interests which, due to the makeup of its membership, remained Coloured interests. In doing so, it provided the WPFA (Hartleyvale) with an unattractive proposition that ended any hope of integration. Just a year and a half earlier the WPFB had agreed to 'inform Federation about their dissatisfaction' because they had refused to enter unity talks.¹⁵

Despite the onset of the Black Consciousness movement which suggested that Coloureds were not distinct from Africans (or Indians), the WPFB's concept of unity still largely disassociated themselves from Africans.¹⁶ After the Board decided to expand in 1978, the

¹¹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 3/11/77.

¹² *Ibid.*, 26/2/78.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Black Consciousness groups did have a role in SACOS. The Black People's Sports Council, a Black Consciousness group which pushed for Black unity in sport, was particularly vocal in pushing the Double Standards agenda and putting pressure on Norman Middleton to resign. Within the WPFB, however, there is little evidence these groups held any sway.

WPFB did decide to put out feelers to groups in Langa and Gugulethu¹⁷ which resulted in the Gugulethu FA joining in 1982. Despite earlier links to Cape District, Central and the Mitchells Plain FA, the Gugulethu FA lacked the required finances or administration to be an effective part of the Board. In 1983, just one year after being accepted into the WPFB, the organisation collapsed.¹⁸ There seems to have been little concerted attempt to retain the Gugulethu FA. It was known when the group joined that it had severe financial constraints and could not even afford goalposts.¹⁹ Despite this, when a Gugulethu FA team failed to appear for a match at Stellenbosch in 1982, in the Board minutes there was no call to help their 'underprivileged brothers.'²⁰ In fact Barney Leendertz, the Stellenbosch FA delegate, stated that 'the failure by Gugulethu F.A. must not be tolerated, as it can damage the non-racial cause.'²¹ The effect of losing the WPFB's only African unit seems not to have been questioned. Its membership was allowed to lapse in order to protect the Coloured members of the Board. The Gugulethu FA's collapse and the WPFB's response closely parallels the Langa-based WPU in 1970.

The WPIFA (now re-named the FAWP) did join the WPFB in 1983, however despite the two associations' long-standing relationship, the WPFB seems to have been reticent. When the FAWP first applied for membership in 1982, negotiations collapsed. The main reasons for this failure were reported to be the predominantly Muslim FAWP's 'religious objections to liquor sponsorship and an objection to playing during the Fast of Ramadan'.²² The WPFB refused to allow the FAWP permission to not display adverts for Maggot Trophy sponsors, the Virginia Wine Company, or to suspend its league during Ramadan despite previous

¹⁷ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 27/8/78.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, MCH82-15-1-1, 30/3/83.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 23/5/82.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² "Religion Poser for Soccer Board", *Cape Herald*, 1/5/82.

allowances for individual teams.²³ No evidence was found that the WPFB adapted its stance in 1983.

Despite the WPFB's stated non-racial goal, their conception of unity remained located within the Coloured community. It is unlikely that this can be traced to any political aversion to integration. The WPFB historically had been a strong proponent of racial unity.²⁴ Rather it should be viewed as a product of the realities of the Apartheid system and their inter-relationship with the institutional field of football. Patric Tariq Mellet has stated:

Under Apartheid, identity was heralded into a singular *kraal* and this was either an ethnic group or one of the four race-silos into which we all had to fit.²⁵

Mellet argues that 'identity is not singular but plural' and that while identity was portrayed as only being about race, it was not.²⁶ It is a salient point when analysing the WPFB. The entire process could be argued to have come out of a Muslim-Christian divide. The UCT incident, the Mahoney Affair and the widespread antagonism towards going to 'White' grounds all had their origins within Muslim teams. The legacies of the anti-Muslim clauses are critical to understanding the entire process. It could be argued the entire affair was a later reflection of the religious tensions seen in John Nauright's article *Masculinity, Muscular Islam*.²⁷

The Christian-Muslim schism itself was reflective of deeper class issues which had not disappeared either. The Everton (Cape Flats) - Battswood (District) Virginia Challenge Cup Final in 1983 was reported to be 'more than just a confrontation on the field'.²⁸ It was a clash between the working-class (Everton) and the middle-classes (Battswood). The divide was

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ See Lennie Kleintjies, "Soccer Body gets a Lashing", *Cape Herald*, 17/8/76.

²⁵ Patric Tereq Mellet, *Lenses on Cape Identities: Exploring Roots in South Africa* (South Africa, DIBANISA, 2010), 5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Nauright, "Masculinty, Muscular Islam".

²⁸ "More than just a Soccer Match", *Cape Times*, 17/9/83.

clearly illustrated as the stands descended into violence. Everton fans were noted to have been shouting “Gooi die ratepayers ... hulle praat mos Engels” (Throw out the ratepayers ... they speak English).²⁹

Many middle-class Christian Coloureds may have associated culturally more strongly with British Whites or even Afrikaners than their Muslim or lower class counterparts.³⁰ The Theron Commission, the 1976 report set up to look into the problems of Coloureds, stated ‘that they (Coloureds) were not culturally different or distinguishable from the white population’.³¹ Others, seeking ‘a refuge from the alienating contradictions and confusions that plague common-sense assumptions about race’ in South Africa, embraced Black Consciousness ideology and identified strongly with Africans and Indians.³²

While individual Coloureds identified in a myriad of ways, the WPFB as an institution was forced to face the legal realities of its situation within a ‘race-silo’. Teams and units were reflective of their local community; often connected to just one family. Joe Schaffers described the situation in Alliance:

And I said the clubs used to be family clubs, family used to be in the centre. The Meyers and Pedro Meyer and Stephanians, the Schaffers were in Bloemhof Flats and of course Smith was Corinthians. And of course your cartel up there (Ridgeville), old man Fredericks and his clan.³³

The WPFB did not have a structure in place to allow individual African or White teams, based in segregated areas, to join. Its structure required a unit. After the collapse of integration talks with the WPFA (Hartleyvale), a White unit was never mooted and if the case of the Gugulethu FA can be taken as representative then African units lacked the required administrative level and finances to travel such large distances.

²⁹ Brian Gaffney, “Soccer’s Day of Shame”, *Cape Herald*, 27/10/83.

³⁰ Who also represented the Dominant group in WPFB administration.

³¹ Du Pré, *Separate*, 3.

³² Helene Strauss, “‘...[C]onfused about being Coloured’: creolization and coloured identity in Chris van Wyk’s *Shirley, Goodness and Mercy*” in Adhikari (ed.), *Burdened*, 37.

³³ Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15.

It was not that the WPFB actively decided that it wanted to remain a Coloured institution because it agreed with Apartheid. As with all institutions it 'tend(ed) towards stability'. Due to earlier laws and discrimination, the WPFB had been built around Coloured interests and outlooks. Its connections, ties and membership remained rooted in this group. Whites and Africans were divided by residential segregation and restrictive laws. Despite the change in government sports policy, amateur-level sports administration across 'racial' divides remained difficult.

The situation had been very different for Muslims when they challenged the established Dominant ideology of the WPFB in the early 1960s and forced their way into Alliance and Cape District. They fought extant discrimination and clauses within the constitutions of units, but certain barriers were lower. Bluebells were based in Batts Road, Lower Wynberg (less than 1 km from the William Herbert Sports Ground) and had no legal, in terms of the state, hurdles to cross. The situation was different when the WPFB and the WPFA (Hartleyvale) attempted to integrate. Beyond residential segregation, there was the thorny issue of permits. A WPFA delegate to the WPFB noted that his unit's main issue with NFL clubs joining the FPL was whether or not permits were needed.³⁴ The co-option of African teams by the Board had similar problems. An Atlantis team that played in Gugulethu was raided for permits when it returned to the house of one of the Gugulethu players. The *Cape Herald* reported that the team believed that it had been followed by police ever since it left the Gugulethu fields.³⁵ Just as in the UCT case, the City Council and the Police refused to clarify their position on the permit question and seemingly the law was applied randomly.

The residential segregation and the permit laws meant that, despite all four major football associations having officially jettisoned their racial ties, everything was still viewed in this manner. The WPFB's connection first and foremost to the Coloured community allowed for the Double Standards resolution to be implemented despite the appropriation of its politics

³⁴ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 3/11/77.

³⁵ Dougie Oakes, "Permit Raid on Soccer Men", *Cape Herald*, 31/7/82.

being incomplete. The resolution, in the short-term, served to reinforce separation. In its original form, and this is worth repeating here, it stated that:

No person, whether he is a player, an administrator or a spectator, committed to the Non-Racial principle in sport, shall participate or be associated with any code of sport which practice, perpetuate or condone racism or multi-nationalism.³⁶

This outlawed SACOS members from being connected to any non-SACOS code of sport. For Coloureds (and Indians) whose main sports organisations were mostly affiliates of SACOS, this was a matter of not 'passing over to the other side'. For Africans and Whites, however, their extant sports associations were mostly classified as 'racial'. Following the Double Standards resolution was a more complex task that involved leaving many of their existing community ties behind. Even then SACOS could not provide all sports in African and White areas.³⁷ The resolution relied inherently on community subscription. As seen with the Joe Schaffers defection, punishments needed the support of local administrators and (for ostracism) the public at large. This communal buy-in was incomplete in Coloured areas, never mind White/African areas where SACOS was less prevalent. The resolution, while formulated on a non-racial basis, practically and immediately created more walls between racial classifications.

The WPFB had by the 1970s become an integral part of the Western Cape Coloured community and provided administrators an elevated status within the community. The clubs, units and the Board itself had become important symbols. Joe Schaffers described his participation in the Aerials in such collectivist terms:

³⁶UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-2, Printed Document.

³⁷ See Nauright, *Sport, Cultures*, 155-6. The WPFB itself, apart from the brief association with the Gugulethu FA, did not have any units in White/African areas.

This sport is about team sport, it wasn't about the individual. And that for us in those days that was important. There were no stars. We played as a team. And as you know those days we played for the love of the game.³⁸

Football's ability to create common attachments has been echoed by many historians including Peter Alegi who view football as creating 'bonds of solidarity that inspired collective action'.³⁹ In the Coloured Western Cape communities, these bonds had increasingly embedded themselves within the communal identity. They had become too important to lose.

For Coloured administrators, sport was perhaps imbued with even greater importance than in other communities. There were very few institutions in the later twentieth century that provided an opportunity for Coloured control. The group spoke European languages and the majority were members of the Dutch Reformed Church. The popular perception of Coloureds is summed up by du Pre's description of Africans' view of Coloureds:

They ... (look) upon them as "mixed-breeds" with no nationhood, no identity, no land, no culture.⁴⁰

Africans, while on the other side of the 'relative privilege' experienced by Coloureds in the Apartheid system, still had some connections to a distinct, extant culture. Mangosuthu Buthelezi⁴¹ rose to the position of Prime Minister of the KwaZulu Bantustan and head of the Inkatha Freedom Party owing in part to his inherited position as chief of the large Zulu Buthelezi tribe. While by the 1970s the growth of organisations influenced by the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) provided a Coloured political movement, their appeal never reached beyond a minority. Since being removed from the common voters' roll in the

³⁸ Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15.

³⁹ Alegi, *Laduma!*, 3.

⁴⁰ Du Pré, *Separate*, 225.

⁴¹ Incidentally a patron of the SASF.

Cape in 1951,⁴² Coloured marginality led to their identity being marked by a general 'political apathy'.⁴³

The Coloured middle-classes, in particular, became committed to the WPFB because it provided a rare path to control. Coloureds were barred from the highest echelons of government and the Dutch Reformed Church. The relatively few political positions Coloureds could hold, e.g. in the CRC, came with severe restrictions and an implicit acceptance of subservience to Whites. By the late 1970s these positions were as much ridiculed as they were prized. Paul David, in his 1978 SASF election campaign, accused Norman Middleton 'of speaking from the racist CRC platform' and that the 'youth regarded him as a sellout'.⁴⁴ Whether or not David's words were accurate (Middleton did win the election comfortably) the quotes suggest that his CRC role was a hindrance as much as a boon to his prestige. The WPFB provided an oasis of control to these individuals. The WPFB could justifiably state that it did not take orders from any other racial group or from any body it had not chosen to affiliate to. The Board had no ties to the government. It had control of its own destiny; this provided administrators with a route towards prestige in their community. Middle-class Coloureds, the Dominant group in Board administration, then imbued the WPFB with further importance. The WPFA (Hartleyvale) plans to attract this group, due to their perceived 'respectability', were therefore retarded.

This prestige was predicated on Coloured unity. The WPFB was an institution that could claim to represent the entire Coloured community; Christians, Muslims, the middle-classes and the working-classes were all enthusiastic members. The ability to cut across class, religious and area divides was made possible by the nature of football as a sport that anyone can play. It requires almost no equipment and has fewer rules and structure than games

⁴² After a protracted constitutional struggle, Coloured voters nationally were placed on a separate roll in 1956. The vote and the ability to stand for the Cape Town City Council lasted considerably longer for Coloureds who did not live in an area with a Coloured Management Committee. However, the last 2 000 citizens had this status revoked in 1971. Robert Cameron, "The Cape Town City Council: A public policy analysis, 1976-1986", *Politikon*, 15, 1 (1988), 45-62.

⁴³ Adhikari, *Not White Enough*, 17-9.

⁴⁴ "Middleton Lashed for Unity Talks", *Cape Herald*, 21/10/78.

such as rugby or cricket.⁴⁵ In the Western Cape, it was a sport that could be picked up by everyone. Joe Schaffers⁴⁶, Ebrahim Abdullah⁴⁷, Ahmed Fransman and Fanie Stuurman⁴⁸ all describe how they learnt their sport playing on the street, often playing with bottles in the absence of real footballs. Tennis and cricket, which require a higher level of equipment and investment, had more barriers to participation. This status gave football an unrivalled connection to the Coloured community. The Mitchells Plain FA, founded in the late 1970s, resisted overtures by the Board until 1982. The Association's eventual link-up was explained as:

Even though Mitchells Plain has by far the best soccer facilities in the Peninsula, players living in the area are already travelling out of the area on Saturday afternoons to play on units belonging to the Western Province Football Board.⁴⁹

The ties to the Board proved stronger than the pull of better facilities.

The WPFB, to its adherents, had a critical role. It was an institution they controlled, that they connected with and they did so across area, religious and class divides. The middle-class Dominants were highly defensive of their positions. This was not a wholly selfish stance. The WPFB was connected with a moral duty. It was viewed 'not only as a home for soccer—but an amenity for the residents'.⁵⁰ To the Board administrators it was viewed as critical, for their own personal prestige and for the Coloured community at large, that the institution survived.

Practically, this required the maintenance of Coloured unity under the WPFB banner. The Board's pre-eminence was built on numbers. SACOS, due to its connection to the Coloured

⁴⁵ William J. Murray, *Football: A History of the World Game* (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1994), xi.

⁴⁶ Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15.

⁴⁷ Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, 11/2/15.

⁴⁸ Interview with Ahmed Fransman and Fanie Stuurman, 21/5/08.

⁴⁹ *The Plainsman*, 14/2/81.

⁵⁰ Lennie Kleintjies, "Groepe Quits in About Face", *Cape Herald*, 18/3/78.

and Indian populations, was often accused of representing minority tendencies.⁵¹ While this was true on a macro level, in the Western Cape Coloureds formed a majority.⁵² The WPFB therefore had a majority not minority outlook. In 1975 the WPFB held a meeting on the issue of whether or not Cape Town Spurs should be sold. Wally Henkel stated:

If Spurs are sold, I must get out ... it will also prove that 20 000 people can't handle a professional club.⁵³

The Double Standards resolution originated in a similar context; its architect Hassan Howa was WPCB chief. The WPCB, while divided politically from the WPFB, held the same majority outlook. The Double Standards resolution was actually tailored more to the needs of the majority than the minority. While the national government had reduced its restrictions on non-racial sport in 1971 and 1977, local councils continued to discriminate. Many were not willing to provide the facilities required to the anti-Apartheid SASF and severely restricted their playing fields.⁵⁴ In Pretoria Blacks were banned from the Caledonian Stadium in 1980⁵⁵ and in Durban non-racial soccer was suspended for two years at King's Park (New Kingsmead).⁵⁶

The WPFB's majority position located them in a separate context. Relations with the Cape Town City Council were often fraught and the Council was constantly accused of doing nothing for the Board.⁵⁷ The WPFB even alleged that they sought to tax the association out of existence in 1981, when rates for Council-owned fields were raised from R5 a year per registered club to R3 a match; the projected cost to the Hanover Park FA amounted to R1 560.⁵⁸ However, the majority status of Coloureds in Cape Town (particularly important for the WPFB when it united with organisations such as the WPCB under the SACOS/WPCOS

⁵¹ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 62.

⁵² Almost 40% of all Coloureds live in the Greater Cape Town area. Adhikari, *Not White Enough*, 2.

⁵³ "Henkel in Threat to Resign", *Cape Herald*, 26/7/75.

⁵⁴ See Merrett, *Sport, Space*.

⁵⁵ Keith Abendroth, "Caledonian Soccer Ban: Council says its definite", *The Citizen*, 27/2/80.

⁵⁶ Billy Cooper, "Pro Soccer row Switches to Durban", *The Citizen*, 24/2/81.

⁵⁷ See Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, 11/2/15.

⁵⁸ "Plan to Charge for Open Grounds Slated", *Cape Herald*, 28/3/81.

banner) meant it was politically inadvisable and unsustainable not to provide facilities.⁵⁹ For instance, between 1965 and 1972, after ruling Green Point Common a White facility, the Council upgraded Athlone Stadium, providing 'an eight foot high fence around the stadium, gates and a ticket office, a covered stand to accommodate 5000 spectators, commentary boxes and changing rooms'.⁶⁰ This served to make Athlone Stadium the 'premier venue for black football in the city' through the 1970s and 1980s.⁶¹ The disparity with the situation in Durban, the Transvaal and the ash-laden WCSA pitch at Langa is stark. The WPFB owed this relatively privileged position not to government co-operation or finances, but to sheer weight of numbers. The Double Standards resolution protected this status, it protected WPFB football.

The unitary system of the WPFB also required unity to administer football effectively. The system encompassed semi-autonomous bodies that largely acted independently. The actions taken by Cape District following the Mahoney affair were facilitated by the unit being able to continue its league at the William Herbert Sports Ground. In a centralised system there would have been no structure to enable the withdrawal of a large number of clubs. Leaving the Board would have meant teams had no competition to play in – a very different prospect to what happened with Cape District who essentially withdrew from the inter-unit Maggot Trophy. It would have been anathema from a sporting perspective. The unit system was a historical legacy and representative of a socio-economic necessity; the Board could not have played on a centralised basis due to financial and transport restrictions. Even the Maggot Trophy, the inter-unit competition of the Board, caused problems. As late as 1983, Cloeteville regularly failed to turn up for scheduled matches due to financial and administrative problems.⁶² The system facilitated conflict by creating not just a means for protest, but by creating another level of power bases outside of Executive control. Steve

⁵⁹ Even if these facilities remained inferior to those held by White organisations.

⁶⁰ Various, *Fields of Play*, 63.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 14/9/83.

Dublin, the President of Cape District, explained the unit's withdrawal as due to 'interference in our domestic affairs'.⁶³ In this context, unity became a rallying cry of the Board out of necessity; as a weapon to combat the conflict caused by the highly flawed and contentious unit system.

The integration attempts of the late 1970s heightened these issues. The WPFB's base had been built on achieving Coloured unity and opposing schisms within it. Wally Henkel questioned the purpose of the Board in the 1973 AGM:

Do we consider and accept this board as the ultimate authority of soccer in the Western Cape, or do we use it as a convenience and platform for verbal tirades and opportunity to seek public recognition for egotistic ideals which do not subscribe to, nor assist, our common cause.⁶⁴

However the WPFA (Hartleyvale) and, to a lesser extent, the WCSA had begun by the late 1970s to actively seek out Coloured clubs. They represented a concerted and established threat the WPFB had not previously faced. By 1982 Stephanians (Alliance) had passed over to the WPFA (Hartleyvale) and Glenville had moved to the WCSA. The WPFB, after years of relative stability, was thrust into a precarious position with a strong and established rival. The WPFB's biggest concern became stemming the tide of Coloured footballers and clubs to the other two associations and retaining Coloured unity.

The first responsive policy of the WPFB was to reject the Double Standards resolution since it created disunity through suspensions, ostracism, etc. Even before the Double Standards resolution was implemented it was reported that Metropolitan Chairman Bert Erickson and Atlantis Delegate Sydney Louw would have to be removed from the organisation.⁶⁵ Meanwhile the Board attempted to retain Coloured unity by co-opting units in the new communities created due to the forced and voluntary movement of Coloureds to the Cape

⁶³ "Why Cape District Quit – and why we returned", *Cape Herald*, 27/9/80.

⁶⁴ "Call for Soccer Loyalty?", *Cape Herald*, 10/3/73.

⁶⁵ "Quit Federation Plea to WP Board", *Cape Herald*, 15/3/80.

Flats. Between 1957 and 1985, the Group Areas Act led to 150 000 people in the Cape Peninsula being forcibly removed.⁶⁶ Many more moved voluntarily to new towns such as Mitchells Plain and Atlantis. In his 1977 Secretarial Report Vincent Baartjes launched the new policy by asserting:

Some consideration must be given to the many little Bodies still not affiliated to our Board. The Group Areas Act will continue shifting huge sections of our players and provision must be made.⁶⁷

The Board quickly moved to 'consolidate (its) position at home'.⁶⁸ At the beginning of 1979, six new units were accepted:⁶⁹ the Atlantis FA, Retreat and District, Hanover Park FA, Manenberg FA, Cloetesville FA and the Inter-denominational FA. In the coming years, the Board continued to grow with the affiliations of Mitchells Plain FA (1982), Paarl (1983), Lentegeur (1983), Gugulethu (1982) and the FAWP (1984). The old Institutional Logic or value of order and the constitution was sacrificed to ensure unity. Administrative problems dogged the new units for the next few years. The Hanover Park FA was suspended in 1982 due to a myriad of administrative failures which included not attending WPFB meetings, not paying accounts and ignoring Board summonses.⁷⁰

There is little evidence that the new units held any distinctive political stance. The Mitchells Plain and Gugulethu FAs had strong links to Double Standards before they joined the Board, represented by a tournament that they took part in with Double Standards dissenters Central and Cape District.⁷¹ However, Mitchells Plain did not join the Board until several years after Double Standards was implemented and there were strong suggestions that the association

⁶⁶ Henry Trotter, "Trauma and Memory: the impact of apartheid-era forced removals on coloured identity in Cape Town" in Adhikari (ed.), *Burdened*, 49.

⁶⁷ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, Secretarial Report 1977.

⁶⁸ It should be noted the use of home to denote the Coloured community. UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 17/2/80.

⁶⁹ "6 to Join and 1 to Leave the WP Board", *Cape Herald*, 3/3/79.

⁷⁰ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 27/7/82.

⁷¹ Lennie Kleintjies, "Don't try to fool us with those 'tours'", *Cape Herald*, 21/7/79.

was more interested in control than politics.⁷² There was always a complex interplay between the move to the Cape Flats and attitudes towards the government. Sean Field's work *Oral History, Community and Displacement* does a good job of noting that the movement out towards the Cape Flats should not be seen as exclusively negative.⁷³ Many of the facilities in the 'townships' were far better than those available previously. For many the move, be it forced or voluntary, allowed them access to proper housing and electricity for the first time in their lives. The sporting facilities were often a marked improvement. Ebrahim Abdullah, a former Alliance League player with Blackpool who moved to Mitchells Plain in 1977, noted that he had never used a dressing room before his move.⁷⁴ While Abdullah himself was supportive of Double Standards, it is important to note that the removals were multi-faceted and that there were a multitude of reactions. It is therefore not surprising that there is no obvious correlation between political stance and geography of the unit.

The very existence of these units does though reflect a shift in Board politics to a greater interest in unity. Many of the units were not in terms of administration or size strictly ready to join the Board; Atlantis and Cloetesville were no bigger than the Metropolitan club Sea Point Swifts.⁷⁵ The WPFB's insistence on them joining at this stage demonstrates the consternation the Board felt about Coloured unity. This fear often contrasted with actual reality. Ebrahim Abdullah, in an interview with the author, never suggests that there was any possibility that Mitchells Plain would not link up with the Board. Indeed he notes that the Mitchells Plain FA was the brainchild of Chris Stevens from the Cape Flats FA.⁷⁶ At the time Mitchell Plain's reluctance to link up with the Board was attributed by Association officials

⁷² See UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, Secretarial Report 1979.

⁷³ Sean Field, *Oral History, Community and Displacement: Imaging Memories in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town* (Cape Town, David Phillip, 2001).

⁷⁴ Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, 11/2/15.

⁷⁵ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, Secretarial Report 1979.

⁷⁶ Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, 11/2/15.

only to not yet being 'administratively sound'.⁷⁷ Abdullah notes that all of the Mitchells Plain officials, including he himself at Alliance, were former Board officials and there seems to have been little thought of not becoming part of the Board.⁷⁸ Units such as Mitchells Plain were still connected to the same Coloured middle-class that controlled units in the metropole. Despite this apparent reality, the Board displayed great consternation at the apparent unwillingness of Mitchells Plain to join. Vincent Baartjes warned:

Mitchells Plain, one suspects, fancies themselves to becoming the grand Colouredstan, and further approaches are not expected. That they will become a force should not be underestimated and the situation must be watched.⁷⁹

It is clear that the Board felt increasingly uneasy about the presence of unaffiliated units while the outward-looking WPFA (Hartleyvale) and the WCSA existed.

The efficacy of the WPFB refusing the Double Standards resolution and co-opting new units into the WPFB in order to retain Coloured unity was diminished by the stance of the SASF and SACOS. The WPFB's position in regard to SACOS while it refused to implement the resolution was unclear. The WPCB issued threats that WPFB members would be barred from their organisation but, apart from a few isolated incidents, this never came to fruition. The situation was only clarified when the SASF called for the WPFB to implement the policy or leave in March 1980. If the Board did not implement the policy within thirty days, the SASF stated that its membership would be revoked and it would be classified as a 'racial' body.⁸⁰ With this re-classification, WPFB members would no longer be able to play in other SACOS-administered sports. While some associates would undoubtedly have chosen

⁷⁷ *The Plainsman*, 20/2/82.

⁷⁸ Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, 11/2/15.

⁷⁹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, Secretarial Report 1979.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 9/3/80.

football and the WPFB, many others would have chosen cricket, tennis, rugby, hockey, etc. The WPFB's quest for Coloured unity would have been in tatters.

SACOS and the WPFB predominantly viewed events very differently: SACOS in political terms and the WPFB from a sporting perspective. The problem for the WPFB and the SASF more generally was that once the Double Standards resolution had been implemented, the Council became a very difficult organisation to leave. The WPFB which as the largest member of the SASF had been involved in the establishment of SACOS, could not have foreseen its adaptation to a political entity. SACOS's initial 1973 goals, according to Roberts, were 'international affiliation for non-racial structures', the 'mobilisation and consolidation of sports organisations under the banner of SACOS and successful attainment of sponsorship for non-racial sports development'.⁸¹ While within these motives there exist certain anti-Apartheid connotations, there was no sense that SACOS would become 'an important node of the anti-apartheid movement'.⁸² Even the Double Standards resolution itself was initially intended only as a tool for instilling internal discipline.⁸³ It was only with the amendment of the resolution to encompass outlawing membership of 'racial' political and social organisations that SACOS transformed into an overtly political confederation.

This situation forced the WPFB into a corner wherein they had 'no alternative but to implement and carry out the instruction of SASF'.⁸⁴ Not to do so would have threatened the existence of the institution and its football. The WPFB first and foremost implemented the resolution for sporting reasons. It continued to view the resolution in these terms. It therefore was always part-implemented from the perspective of retaining unity, viewed as critical to the WPFB's survival. As long as a Double Standards contravention did not involve leaving the WPFB or catch the attention of the press, it was tacitly allowed. Joe Schaffers'

⁸¹ Roberts, *No Normal Sport*, 56.

⁸² Ashwin Desai and Ahmed Veriava, "Creepy Crawlies, Portapools and the dam(n)s of Swimming Transformation" in Ashwin Desai (ed.), *The Race to Transform: Sport in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2010), 28.

⁸³ Booth, "The South African Council", 57.

⁸⁴ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 9/3/80.

experiences with the Alliance union and its President Sydney Lotter can be explained as such. Schaffers was not leaving the WPFB, he was only going to play cricket on the other side. Lotter's stance was described by Schaffers as:

I am not playing soccer on the White side, it's completely divorced from the sport of soccer; and it's cricket.⁸⁵

While the practice of 'looking the other way' on such dalliances was noted to be common,⁸⁶ the WPFB minutes contain no reference to any administrator being punished for allowing this practice.

Punishments were almost exclusively doled out by the WPFB only when the defection involved football and/or when the press were involved. Even then, sentences were often lenient. Mitchells Plain FA Executive member Ampies Daries was called before the WPFB Executive for participating in organising the Farnese Tournament, a football competition that involved non-Board players, but he was suspended for just three weeks.⁸⁷ The suspension was set for the next three weeks, which meant that Daries missed just three weeks during November, the middle of the WPFB's off-season. When harsh punishments were handed out, it was generally because the offender had gone over to the WPFA (Hartleyvale), which remained a threat to the Board's hegemony. Ocean View suspended Henry Brown, Cliffe Carelse and John Laguma for life after they were found to have played in the Cape Western League (WPFA (Hartleyvale)).⁸⁸ John Adams of the Atlantis FA was also banned for life after crossing the divide to play for Bayview.⁸⁹

The Double Standards resolution was used less as a tactic of 'political purification' than for 'instilling internal discipline'.⁹⁰ It was administered in order to attain the WPFB goal of Coloured footballing unity. The Board itself largely washed its hands of suspensions unless

⁸⁵ Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15.

⁸⁶ *Cape Herald*, 14/1/78.

⁸⁷ Barry Hopwood, "Daries in Hot Water", *Cape Herald*, 6/11/82.

⁸⁸ Barry Hopwood, "Showdown Over George Freddy", *Cape Herald*, 30/4/83.

⁸⁹ "Soccer Board Spells it Out", *Cape Herald*, 28/2/81.

⁹⁰ Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 57.

its hand was forced or it involved a Coloured player/team crossing the divide to the WPFA (Hartleyvale) or WCSA. In order to ensure the return of Cape District and Central, however, the WPFB essentially allowed its units to apply the resolution how they wished. Some were very strict; the Cape Flats FA by 1977 already had a list of all defectors and applied life bans unilaterally.⁹¹ Others such as Alliance were lenient. The asymmetric implementation of the Double Standards resolution allowed the WPFB to retain unity and ensure its short-term survival. The policy however was not only utilised for this purpose. It had a longer term goal in mind: the reduction of 'uncertainty' created by the ill-defined government policy towards Coloureds and the marginality of Coloureds within the Apartheid system.

⁹¹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 14/4/77.

Chapter 5 – Uncertainty

The essential preconditions for an insurgent collective identity include ... social spaces within which members of an oppressed group can develop an independent sense of worth in contrast to their received definitions as second-class or inferior citizens.¹

The WPFB was a 'free space', a 'sphere of cultural autonomy' in which the administrators and the wider Coloured community could exercise control. While Coloured unity became viewed as critical to institutional survival, it was not the only goal that was re-emphasised due to the destabilisation of the football structure in the 1970s. The destabilisation had not come from within the WPFB itself; rather it was a product of shifts in government policy and a change in the outlook of the White national association, FASA. This experience crystallised the notion, already made apparent by the impact of forced removals, that while officials and players had discovered an oasis of control within the confines of the football association, this oasis remained subject to storms from outside.

The future impact of these storms was unclear. Government policy at various times made attempts both to integrate and further separate Coloureds from White society. With their institution and football survival left at the whim of a state which they had little or no say in, the WPFB was in a quagmire of uncertainty. Buttressing the 'free space' of the WPFB soon became an Institutional Logic or goal of the Board. The means to achieve this involved the Double Standards resolution. By utilising its 'dogmatism'² and its opposition to government policy the WPFB was able to create a 'new kind of solidarity',³ gain the support of the increasingly influential 'politicised' faction and shield itself from future governmental policy

¹ Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York, Vintage Books, 1989), 219.

² Booth, "The South African Council on Sport", 60.

³ Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 269.

shifts. The Board was able to protect its oasis and continue to play football within the Apartheid system.

By the early 1970s the National Party government had removed almost all of the avenues Coloureds had to affect government policy. In the Cape the group were removed from the common voters' roll in 1951.⁴ The government's alternative to representation in the National Parliament was the establishment of the Coloured Person's Representative Council (CRC) in 1964. The Council, however, had extremely limited powers and was widely regarded as a 'political fraud'.⁵ Roy du Pré described the position of Coloureds:

During the 20th century, they (Coloureds) were stripped of their political rights, formed into a nation against their will, deprived of their privileges in violation of the constitution and legislated into oblivion simply because they were 'different'.⁶

While most Coloureds were less damning of their position, it is generally accepted that their identity was marked by 'marginality' due to their 'intermediate position' within the South African racial hierarchy.⁷

As a result of governmental policy shifts the WPFB, despite its majority status within Cape Town, was reminded of its intermediate role. The WPFA (Hartleyvale) through its superior facilities and backing of sponsors was able to attract clubs from the WPFB;⁸ teams such as Silvertown United and Hertha Berlin soon 'passed over' to the White association. No examples could be found of a White club (after UCT) affiliating to the WPFB. On a professional level, while Cape Town City and Hellenic attracted Coloured stars such as

⁴ Certain Coloureds who lived in an area without a Coloured Management Committee retained the vote and the ability to stand for a position on the Cape Town City Council for longer, however the last 2 000 citizens had this privileged status revoked in 1971.

⁵ Du Pré, *Separate*, 167.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁷ Adhikari, *Not White Enough*, 17.

⁸ Johnsons Sportswear were noted in 1981 to be encouraging Board sides to join the WPFA (Hartleyvale) (UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 23/8/81).

Trevor Manuel and Bernard 'Dancing Shoes' Hartzke, Cape Town Spurs' only noted White player was Sergio dos Santos who was unable to get a game for Hellenic or City.⁹ While the African WCSA in terms of facilities and sponsorship was in an even worse position than the WPFB and some amateur clubs such as White Spurs of Gugulethu did pass over to the Board,¹⁰ the sheer numbers of SANFA made them powerful within the professional arena. By 1982 the SANFA-administered professional league, the NPSL, had gained the majority of support from White businesses and was able to boast a turnover of nearly R3,2 million.¹¹ In the same year, the NPSL was able to coax over both Cape Town FPL teams, Glenville and Cape Town Spurs.

Coloured players generally found little success in White teams. A *Cape Herald* article on Neville Londt at Hellenic suggested that the White players refused to pass to him and stated he could not be a success 'if his team-mates (do not) realise that he is in their team.'¹² Londt, having gone over to Hellenic in the 1977 season, returned to Spurs by September 1978.¹³ Regardless of the many players who discovered that 'the grass is not so green on the other side', the lure of superior facilities, higher pay and a perceived higher playing standard in the WPFA (Hartleyvale) ensured that defections continued.¹⁴

These defections created uncertainty and threatened the unspoken bonds of community within the Board and its units. Cape Town Spurs, the long-time professional arm of the WPFB, forsook the Board and the SASF in search of additional sponsorship. While Spurs and Glenville's places in the FPL were taken by Santos (ex-Cape Flats) and Glendene (ex-Cape District), the previous communal connections had been broken. While the Spurs-Glenville derby was a major event regularly attracting 20 000 supporters, a 3 500 attendance

⁹ "From Hellenic to Spurs", *Cape Herald*, 28/6/77.

¹⁰ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 27/3/83.

¹¹ Alegi and Bolsmann, "From Apartheid to Unity", 11.

¹² Lennie Kleintjies, "Londt in Trouble", *Cape Herald*, 29/3/77.

¹³ Mike Bradbury, "Suburbs Crushed by a Rampant Spurs", *Cape Argus*, 11/9/78.

¹⁴ Brian Gaffney, "Soccer's Great Exodus Continues", *Cape Herald*, 8/10/83.

at a Glendene-Santos match was regarded as surprisingly high.¹⁵ The flight of Stephanians from the Alliance league to the WPFA (Hartleyvale) took a particularly onerous toll on the WPFB's connections to the Claremont community. Stephanians had been formed in 1924 as the community rallied around to honour a young boy, Stephen Hilario, who had recently drowned at the old pier in Cape Town.¹⁶ They had become a vital part of the area, with table tennis and netball teams as well as the original football club, and had been part of the Alliance League since 1945.¹⁷ The old ties that for so many years had informed Coloured football were under threat. The continued existence of the WPFB, its units and its clubs had become uncertain. The WPFB began to enact a siege mentality, a feeling that its very existence was under attack.

This feeling was heightened by another connected government policy: forced removals. Forced removals, which moved thousands to the Cape Flats, drew into question community ties which in turn questioned extant connections to the Board and its units. Stephanians' move was described as:

Stephanians have felt the effects of the Group Areas Act more than most. Indeed, the club showed great resolution in keeping together after the Act had spread their members around all parts of the Peninsula.¹⁸

The club's players and administrators were already being forced to travel from across 'the Peninsula' to play in Alliance at the Rosmead Sports Ground. It was not such an undertaking to travel to play at Hartleyvale. Even if clubs such as Sea Point Swifts decided to remain in the WPFB (by moving to the Metropolitan Union in Bonteheuwel from their original location in Tramway Road, Sea Point), forced removals spread their players across the Peninsula and their connections to their unit and original community were weakened. In

¹⁵ Lennie Kleintjies, "All's Well in Soccer Federation", *Cape Argus*, 3/4/82.

¹⁶ "Golden Jubilee for Stephanians", *Cape Herald*, 27/7/74.

¹⁷ Various, *Fields of Play*, 137.

¹⁸ *Cape Herald*, 25/10/82.

1981 Swifts, as part of the Bert Erickson dispute, left the Metropolitan Union to join the WPFA.¹⁹

If a club did not move or moved to a different area than a player/administrator,²⁰ then members were left with a decision; to travel the large distances to their clubs' base (Mitchells Plain is 30km from Green Point Common, Atlantis more than 62km) with its inherent cost or to join a new club. For many who changed clubs, their new teams never held the same connections as their old ones. Ebrahim Abdullah, still in an interview in 2015 almost thirty years after leaving the club, described Blackpool as 'we'.²¹ His connections to Parkhurst AFC, his team since moving to Mitchells Plain in the late 1970s, were far less stressed in the interview. Joe Schaffers, removed from District Six in the late 1970s, describes himself as 'having always been an Aerials man' and notes with vigour the cultural, class and familial ties of other Alliance clubs such as Ridgeville and Corinthians.²² Alliance, along with its rich web of institutional relationships and connections, closed its doors in 1985 due to the impact of forced removals and Aerials moved to the Mitchells Plain Football Association.²³ Cut off from its original Bloemhof Flats context, the club disbanded within a few years.

Joe Schaffers described the impact of forced removals on the WPFB:

but of course the Apartheid system was ... when we were shifted out of the Bloemhof Flats and that applied to many other clubs. Cricket clubs, soccer clubs. Cos everything community based was destroyed, your schools, your churches, your sports clubs, all gone and it could never really get itself together again. And a lot of the big name clubs also fell by the wayside

¹⁹ Dennis Cruywagen, "Mets have left WP Board", *Cape Times*, 21/1/81.

²⁰ Not all of the Tramway Road community that formed Sea Point Swifts was removed to Bonteheuwel.

²¹ Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, 11/3/15.

²² Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/3/15.

²³ *The Plainsman*, 23/3/85.

cos they couldn't get members and if they had members, they were playing where they were living and where they could play.²⁴

While others including Ebrahim Abdullah were more positive on the associations and clubs that emerged from forced and voluntary removals, they represented a major shock to the Board. The WPFB and its system had always been based in community. The collapse of Alliance, a founder member, was a stark reminder that these communities and their institutions could be destroyed at the whim of the Apartheid state. The very fabric of the Board was under threat.

The imposition of Coloured unity was part of an attempt to restore stability in this context. The problem for the WPFB was that it still remained susceptible to another 'shock' from outside. The impact of forced removals continued to create insecurity within the Board. The prospects for new units, created after the movement to the Cape Flats, was by no means certain or identifiable. Some units such as the Mitchells Plain FA quickly established themselves behind rapidly growing memberships²⁵ and superior facilities.²⁶ Other units never fulfilled their promised growth. Atlantis was designed 'as an ethno-city with its own economic base' with ambitious plans.²⁷ Industrialists had pledged more than R90 million into the area and jobs, making everything from egg boxes to engines, were said to be plentiful.²⁸ Between 1976 and 1983, the town mushroomed from 'virgin Cape Bush' to a population of 45 000.²⁹ Everywhere the town was talked about in glowing terms, with Sydney Louw stating that 'housing is no problem at all' and gloating of the excellent sporting facilities, electricity and tarred roads the area had to offer potential residents.³⁰ The expected growth of the town was almost certainly the driving force behind the Atlantis FA being accepted into

²⁴ Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/3/15.

²⁵ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-4-2-12, *Western Province Association Football Board News*, October 1988, "Atlantis FA: A Story of Courage and Commitment".

²⁶ *The Plainsman*, 14/2/81.

²⁷ John Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1996), 64.

²⁸ *The Atlantian*, 6/10/83.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *The Atlantian*, 9/12/80.

the Board despite its initial small size and poor administration. By 1988 the town's image was very different. As South Africa fell into recession in the 1980s, the expected investment and growth had never arrived and Atlantis was described as 'a city of despair, with poverty, unemployment and hunger becoming the order of the day.'³¹ Correspondingly the Atlantis FA had never become the Dominant force within the WPFB that was envisioned in its early years. The administration of the unit remained chaotic; in 1983, an intra-unit competition finished with no-one able to say who had won.³² The Atlantis FA remained viewed as one of the weakest Board units.

The communities that sprouted on the Cape Flats out of the ethers of the old often exacerbated the class divides that had previously dogged the WPFB. Mitchells Plain was designed 'as far as possible' as a settlement for home-owners.³³ As the town grew rapidly, however, more and more suburbs for rental dwellings were established. Lentegeur's make-up was described as:

Peculiar to this part of Mitchells Plain is the fact that its residents are almost all from District Six and the Bloemhof Flats and unlike the rest of Mitchells Plain they are all tenants and not home-owners.³⁴

The facilities available in the home-owner and rental areas were incomparable. Ebrahim Abdullah described Westridge, a home-owner area, as 'utopia' encompassing impressive sports facilities, a shopping mall and a large civic centre.³⁵ In Lentegeur the conditions were anything but 'utopian'; the first residents moved to the area in 1979, but in 1981 there were still no shops, butchers or pre-school facilities and traffic signs and police patrols were described as inadequate.³⁶ The asymmetrical nature of council-provided facilities led to the exacerbation of already prevalent class divides within the Board. Since the early 1960s, a

³¹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, MCH82-12-1-1, *Western Province Soccer News*, October 1988.

³² *The Atlantian*, 20/10/83.

³³ J.G. Brand, *Building a New Town: City of Cape Town's Mitchells Plain* (Cape Town?, ?, 1979), 1.

³⁴ *The Plainsman*, 14/3/81.

³⁵ Interview with Ebrahim Abdullah, 11/2/15.

³⁶ *The Plainsman*, 25/7/81.

unit such as Cape District had encompassed Christian (St. Johns), Muslim (Bluebells), higher-class (Yorkshire AFC) and lower-class (Crusaders) teams. In Mitchells Plain, however, where class segregation was more prevalent, the Lentegeur FA split from the Mitchells Plain FA and joined the WPFB as an independent unit in 1984.³⁷ Class divides, between ratepayers and renters, were exacerbated. Middle-classes, the old Dominant of the Board, were no longer a fixture in areas such as Lentegeur which gave it a fairly unique, distinct culture.

The Board through its policy of unity desperately attempted to restore immediate stability. An even greater threat however faced the WPFB – the uncertainty of government policy. Coloureds had almost no say in the future of government policy and the adherents of the WPFB had no way of establishing what it would be. Government policy towards Coloureds was so confused and vague that the Board could not adequately plan for future upheavals. Government policy encompassed the ostensibly contradictory stances of pushing further assimilation with White society while pushing towards further residential segregation and a goal of the total separation of racial groups.

The problem was that Coloureds remained a 'residual statutory population category',³⁸ a complexity, an inconvenient middle group within the racial hierarchy. This meant that National Party policies rarely focused on Coloureds. Deborah Posel described the party's priorities:

The NP (National Party) took office in 1948 with attention focused squarely on the phenomenon of African urbanisation and its attendant dilemmas and dangers.³⁹

³⁷ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 22/5/83.

³⁸ Du Pré, *Separate*, 4.

³⁹ Deborah Posel, *The Making of Apartheid 1948-61: Conflict and Compromise* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991), 61.

Wherever motivation behind Apartheid is located, whether within Afrikaner Nationalism,⁴⁰ capitalist pressures⁴¹ or consternation at increasing levels of African urbanisation,⁴² it was primarily a product of White-African relations. Comparatively, Coloureds were a peripheral concern. Their minority status and supposed 'Europeanised' culture meant that they were not perceived as a threat to White political or economic hegemony. The two perceived parts of Coloured identity, the African and the White, were prioritised at various times at the government's suiting. When policies were formulated, the majority of the time Coloureds were either a marginal concern or used as a pawn to further government interests elsewhere.

In the early 1980s this led the Apartheid government to take up two contradictory positions; (restricted) assimilation and total separation which both had the potential to transform the workings of the WPFB. In 1983, a Whites only referendum approved the foundation of a Tricameral Parliament, a national Parliament that would have three chambers: one for Whites, one for Coloureds and one for Indians. The Tricameral Parliament by no means removed Apartheid; the Parliament ran on a segregated basis and the combined number of Coloured and Indian representatives (130) was outweighed by Whites (178). Even though segregation remained within the system, the Tricameral Parliament's formulation was a major shift in government policy and was portrayed as 'merely a first step in an unspecified 'right direction'.⁴³ The motivation for the move however had little to do with a desire to co-opt Coloureds into the Dominant system. The National Party's chief information officer wrote to Andries Treurnicht, leader of the right-wing faction in the National party caucus, in the early 1980s asking:

I would like to know your view on the idea that we at any price have got to associate the Coloureds as a bloc of 2.5 million with the whites in order to

⁴⁰ See Hermann Gilliomee, "The Making of the Apartheid Plan, 1929-48", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29, 2 (2003), 373-92.

⁴¹ Harold Wolpe, *Race, Class and the Apartheid State* (London, UNESCO Press, 1988).

⁴² Posel, *The Making*.

⁴³ Bernard Mbenga and Hermann Giliomee, *New History of South Africa* (Cape Town, Tafelberg, 2012), 372.

broaden our own power base, and not surrender them to the “black-power” situation.⁴⁴

Coloureds were only important insofar as their relationship with the majority Africans, the real threat to White hegemony.

The marginal position of Coloureds within the minds of National Party ideologues produced a ‘Coloured policy’ that lacked coherence. This meant that while forming an assimilationist policy with the Tricameral Parliament, government officials continued to moot the idea of an independent Coloured ‘homeland’ or ‘Colouredstan’. This was an extension of the extant policy towards Africans. These various ‘tribal’ homelands were conceived as independent nations and four were actually declared independent, although no country outside of South Africa ever officially recognised them. Any African assigned to one of these ‘homelands’ was regarded as a citizen of the ‘Bantustan’ regardless of whether or not they were born or had ever even gone there. Once a person was declared a Bantustan citizen their South African citizenship was terminated. Connie Mulder, the Minister of Plural Relations and Development, stated the ultimate goal of the policy:

If our policy is taken to its logical conclusion as far as the black people are concerned, there will be not one black man with South African citizenship.⁴⁵

In the late 1970s and 80s the policy was at its zenith. In 1976 the Transkei (Xhosa) was declared independent, followed by Bophutatswana (Tswana, 1977), Venda (Venda, 1979) and the Ciskei (Xhosa, 1981). Six more self-governing Bantustans, including the powerful but geographically divided KwaZulu, were established but never officially declared independent.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Uncited in *Ibid.*, 371.

⁴⁵ 72, *House of Assembly Debates*, col. 579, 7/2/78. Cited in John Dugard, “South Africa's Independent Homelands: An Exercise in Denationalization.” *Denv. J. Int'l L. & Pol'y*, 10, 11 (1980), 16.

⁴⁶ The SASF's relationship with the Bantustans was complex. While homelands were regarded as government created bodies, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland from its initial

The position of Coloureds with regard to this policy was unclear. The ideology behind the 'homelands', if drawn to its logical conclusion, called for the complete political segregation of all racial groups. Coloureds, whatever 'middling position' popular imagination placed them in, were legally defined as a 'race' and officially categorised as separate. A 'Colouredstan' however had a fundamental problem: the lack of a discernible Coloured homeland. The homelands for various African 'tribes' had some (albeit questionable) historical basis and were portrayed as areas Africans had lived in for generations which were now being returned to them. Coloureds however, as a popular Apartheid joke went, had been created by Jan van Riebeeck.⁴⁷ They had no historically justifiable homeland beyond Cape Town, which Whites regarded as their 'Mother City'. Hendrik Verwoerd, the chief ideologue of Apartheid, perhaps best summarised 'the Coloured Problem'. He noted that the establishment of a separate Coloured homeland was not practically possible.⁴⁸ However, it remained a stated goal of his and his followers. He explained:

If we could have settled the Coloureds in a part of the country quite on their own, in their own areas like the Bantu, we certainly would have.⁴⁹

The prospect of a Coloured homeland and the complete segregation of the Coloured 'race' remained a vague, ill-defined, but still much discussed prospect throughout the period.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, with the residential segregation decreed by the Group Areas Act approaching completion, the lack of a Coloured 'homeland' had in some eyes been solved by the establishment of Mitchells Plain. The town, 32km from the centre of Cape Town, was designed as a 'self-contained' development which would eventually grow into a new city and centre of Coloured life.⁵⁰ The funding of the project came largely through

conception in 1970 until its demise in 1994, was a patron of the Federation in the early 1970s. Buthelezi's connections to the Federation, classified as contravening the Double Standards resolution, ceased in 1978.

⁴⁷ See Mohammed Adhikari, "God made the White Man, God made the Black Man...!! Popular Racial Stereotyping of Coloured People in Apartheid South Africa", *SA Historical Journal*, 55, 1 (2006), 142-64.

⁴⁸ Goldin, *Making Race*, 237.

⁴⁹ HAD., 1961, 107, 4193, cited in Goldin, *Making Race*, 237.

⁵⁰ Brand, *Building a New Town*, 14.

an R800 million loan from a foreign government given on the condition it would be used for the provision of housing for the 'so-called middle-class Coloured community of Cape Town'.⁵¹ The town grew at a rate of knots with 33 houses being built a day in the late 1970s.⁵²

The birth of Mitchells Plain was believed, inside and outside of government circles, to be laying the foundations for a politically separate Coloured homeland. When the Mitchells Plain FA refused to join the WPFB in 1980, Vincent Baartjes, the Secretary of the WPFB, warned:

Mitchells Plain, one suspects, fancies themselves to becoming the grand Colouredstan, and further approaches are not expected. That they will become a force should not be underestimated and the situation must be watched.⁵³

It is clear that there was considerable consternation about the future of Mitchells Plain within the WPFB. A 'Colouredstan' would have had a profound impact on the Board and all other institutions. Its establishment would have shifted the entire focus of Coloured life. The *Fields of Play* book describes Green Point Common as 'the centre of Cape Town's football scene' and tracks all forced removals by their distance from the common.⁵⁴ Had Mitchells Plain become a self-governing, autonomous Coloured area, then these links to the city, already weakened by forced removals, would have been placed under even greater stress. The potential impact on the Board, and its traditional power bases in Wynberg, Claremont and Maitland, remained speculative and never came to fruition. Its spectre, however, continued to hang over the WPFB. The Board had to simultaneously plan for a future that may have involved complete political separation or assimilation. Their future, decided by a

⁵¹ Marlene le Roux, *Mitchells Plain: A Place in the Sun: The Story of Mitchells Plain as told by its People* (Cape Town, Mikateko Media, 2012), 33.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵³ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, Secretarial Report 1979.

⁵⁴ Various, *Fields of Play*, 44.

government in which they had little or no say, remained uncertain. With this in mind, the combat of uncertainty and of government influence became another new emphasis in Board policy.

Part of this new emphasis was to implement the Double Standards resolution. It combatted the uncertainty of the WPFB's context and returned a measure of control. The Double Standards resolution firstly reinforced loyalty to the Board. The 'politicised' faction, while small in number, was highly influential. Their support of the resolution had caused Cape District, generally identified as the Dominant unit, to leave the WPFB accompanied by Central, another long-standing member. Their opposition had even created the possibility of the formation of 'a body in opposition to the Western Province Football Board' which rumours suggested could have the backing of SACOS or even the SASF.⁵⁵ This Challenger group, based as it was around an anti-Apartheid stance, rejected the uncertain schemes laid down by the government. The attained loyalty of the group by implementing the Double Standards resolution ensured that the WPFB had a strong ally which took little notice of shifts in government policy.

The resolution provided the WPFB with a tool with which to combat future moves by the government. Both the assimilation policy of the Tricameral Parliament and the total separation policy of the 'Colouredstan' incorporated the creation of a raft of new government-supported positions on 'racial bodies'. While the resolution would not have protected the institution from the wide-reaching potential ramifications of a 'Colouredstan', it did mean that the Board retained a level of control in the potential situation. The WPFB did not always remove those who had taken part in government bodies; for example Stellenbosch FA head Matt Seegers,, stripped of his life membership from the WPCB in 1980 for his role on a government-created sports body, faced no reported censorship from the WPFB for his actions.⁵⁶ The resolution did however afford the Board a means to deal

⁵⁵ "Middleton Unconvinced by 'rival Body'", *Cape Herald*, 28/4/79.

⁵⁶ "Seegers Deeply Disappointed", *Cape Herald*, 18/10/80.

with the potential ramifications emanating from uncertain government policies. It provided a clear set of rules that could be applied by the Board if it so wished.

More intangibly, the Double Standards resolution provided part of a strategy by the Board to re-create communal ties post-removals. John Western stated:

Can the desired social cohesion be of the Mowbray (pre-removals community) kind: the warm, sentimental attachment to neighbourhood and to neighbours who are often relatives – part of the image of a “natural” community? No – especially because of the short time elapsed since the townships’ creation, their enormous scale compared with the Mowbray Nonwhite pockets, and their continual turnover in population (44 percent of the people I interviewed had moved again since they left Mowbray). A new kind of solidarity is needed, some conscious creation of a certain level of concerted action.⁵⁷

The resolution took up this role of creating ‘A new kind of solidarity’. It was not that the WPFB was united behind the Double Standards resolution, indeed the resolution and its various parts remained contentious; its power lay in the fact that it increasingly became the only point of contention. Previously, the system of play in the Maggot Trophy (inter-club or inter-unit) was a particularly controversial issue. In 1969, after an 8-1 thrashing of the Cape FA side by Metropolitan, when it was felt the Cape FA had fielded a greatly weakened side, the *Cape Herald* termed Board soccer a ‘farce’⁵⁸ and called upon the Board ‘to take steps to avoid a recurrence ... or immediately close up shop.’⁵⁹ The issue looked set to bedevil the WPFB again in 1981 when there were rumblings of a possible revolt over the absence of a 1982 inter-club Virginia League.⁶⁰ The ‘revolt’ however never came to fruition. Before the next meeting of the Board, the 1982 AGM, Cape Town Spurs and Glenville had left the

⁵⁷ Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 269.

⁵⁸ “Giants lose in Shock Clashes”, *Cape Herald*, 22/8/70.

⁵⁹ “WP go down to Stellenbosch”, *Cape Herald*, 18/7/70.

⁶⁰ *Cape Herald*, 24/10/81. The Maggot Trophy having changed name for sponsorship reasons.

SASF; the AGM did not mention the system of play in the Virginia League and instead agreed to accept the application of the Gugulethu FA and to re-affiliate to WPCOS.⁶¹ The WPFB used the uncertainty, the loss of ties with Spurs and Glenville, to further move towards full implementation of the Double Standards resolution. This distracted Board adherents from other divisive issues. It ensured institutional survival.

The Double Standards resolution was used by the WPFB as part of a strategy to reduce the level of uncertainty that the institution faced. It provided a clear set of rules which, while not uniformly applied, were always available. It ensured the Board held the support of the political faction who categorically rejected government influence and was a distraction that gave the Board a clear path when uncertainty threatened to derail its goals. In Board circles the resolution was never viewed as a means to bring down the government. Vincent Baartjes strongly repudiated this idea:

While one subscribes to forcing political changes it is imperative to form the appropriate movement; for Sport in this country can never hope to produce the desired changes.⁶²

Double Standards was always a policy that as practised by the Board was meant to allow the institution to work effectively within the system. This, in an Apartheid context where Coloureds had little or no say in the workings of government, meant establishing an Institutional Settlement that incorporated reducing governmental power over the Board i.e. reducing uncertainty.

The reduction of 'uncertainty' and the attainment of Coloured 'unity' both relied on an asymmetric and flexible implementation of the Double Standards resolution. This was professedly against the spirit of the dogma as intended by SACOS. The Board, however,

⁶¹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 11/3/82.

⁶² UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, Secretarial Report 1977.

was able to utilise the 'confusion' within Apartheid sports and society as a whole to implement the policy in its own distinct way.

Chapter 6 – Confusion

Confronted by the formidable pace and breadth of the Nationalists' achievement, many a commentator has turned to the notion of an all-embracing 'grand plan' to explain the making of Apartheid (prior to the onset of 'reform' in the mid-1970s). The Afrikaner nationalist vanguard in the state is seen as having built the Apartheid edifice brick by brick, according to the dictates of a single, systematic long-term blueprint, the essence of which was already conceived in the minds of NP leaders on the eve of their election victory in 1948.¹

In *The Making of Apartheid*, Posel argues that many have viewed Apartheid as a 'grand plan' 'greatly exaggerating the extent of the continuity, control, and long-term planning involved.'² She proposes that Apartheid had no 'blueprint'; it was a product of conflict and compromise, of adaptations and revisions, of 'Uncertainties, conflicts, failures, and deviations'.³ In the previous chapters it has been suggested that the WPFB used the Double Standards resolution in a logical and considered manner to fulfil two new Institutional Logics: Coloured unity and the reduction of uncertainty. This was not however part of a 'grand plan'. Chairman Wally Henkel stated in 1981, that it was 'never the board's intention to implement the double standards policy until they had fully investigated the matter';⁴ the resolution within the Board originated as a response to the destabilisation of the wider football structure. Much like Apartheid, the policy evolved within a context of conflict and compromise. This led directly to the WPFB's inconsistent and heterogeneous implementation. Board adherents often seemed to have little understanding of Double Standards, its various tenets or the ideology behind them. This was a product of the WPFB's confused context; an environment that encompassed a mess of football

¹ Posel, *The Making*, 1.

² *Ibid.*, 5.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "Soccer Board Spells it Out", *Cape Herald*, 28/2/81.

organisations and an inadequate, skewed media with its own distinct priorities, who failed to adequately reflect or question WPFB activities.

It seems unlikely that most Board footballers, spectators or even administrators would have been able to explain the structure of football in South Africa or even the Western Cape. The *Argus* described the situation in November 1978:

The average sports-minded South African, I know, is often puzzled by what seems to be the labyrinthine nature of the sports situation in this country – a state of affairs that applies particularly to the administration of soccer.⁵

The soccer structure was a sea of acronyms; in the Western Cape even if we ignore the various units, FASA, SANFA, SASF, WPFA (Hartleyvale), WPFB, WCSA, FPL, NPSL, SACOS and WPCOS were all regularly used in reports. Even more confusingly, the White WPFA (Hartleyvale) and Board unit WPFA had the same official name.⁶ While in earlier years distinctions were drawn by their various racial affiliations, by the 1970s the WPFB, WCSA and WPFA (Hartleyvale) all espoused the same goal of a united non-racial Western Cape football body. Even the administrators of the various organisations knew little of each other; the Vice-President of the WPFA (Hartleyvale), Eric Dalton, admits that ‘we (WPFA (Hartleyvale)) didn’t understand the way SACOS ran their football in the Western Cape’.⁷ Understanding of the WCSA was even worse; Mike Coetzee, a senior official in the WPSSU, in an interview questioned whether Langa even had soccer fields in the 1970s.⁸

This is not to argue the Board was a passive recipient of confusion. The opaque structure of football and the media, which focused on the political rather than sporting issues around the WPFB, allowed the association considerable leeway. The Board used the confusion in Apartheid society, produced by the state, football bodies and the media, to achieve its

⁵ A.C. Parker, “First Crack in SACOS Soccer Wall”, *Cape Argus*, 18/11/78.

⁶ Even more confusingly, the WPIFA in the 1970s was renamed the Football Association of Western Province (FAWP).

⁷ Interview with Eric Dalton, 29/10/07.

⁸ Interview with Mike Coetzee, Cape Town, conducted by Francois Cleophas, 17/10/07.

sporting goals. In a similar fashion to the government publicly embracing integrated sport, while simultaneously allowing local governments to rule against it, the Board publicly embraced the Double Standards resolution while simultaneously allowing its units to flout it.

The confusion surrounding football in the Western Cape was rooted not just in the 'labyrinthine nature of the sports situation', but in the limitations of the concurrent media. Despite the WPFB being the largest sporting institution in the Western Cape, it received little media attention and if it was analysed, it came from a separate perspective to that of the Board or its adherents.

SASF-administered football was not televised or broadcast on the radio.⁹ Content on these media streams was stringently controlled by the government-regulated South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Due to National Party fears that television 'would become an unmanageable vehicle for American values and communist ideology', the medium was not even introduced to South Africa until 1976.¹⁰ SABC, apart from a handful of pirate radio stations, held a monopoly on television and radio until the end of Apartheid. No SACOS-administered sport was broadcast on these mediums. In fact, it was not until the early 1980s that any South African football¹¹ (the NPSL) was televised live.¹²

This meant that the SASF, FPL and the WPFB were only consumed by those who actually attended matches and through second-hand accounts. Sean Jacobs described the situation:

So FPL teams and players only lived on the field or the retelling of game action by other boys who had gone to games – either accompanying their

⁹ Sean Jacobs, "It wasn't that I did not like South African football': Media, History and Biography', *Soccer and Society*, 11, 2 (2010), 97.

¹⁰ Martha Evans, *Broadcasting the End of Apartheid: Live Television and the Birth of the New South Africa* (London, I.B. Tauris & Co, 2014), 30.

¹¹ English FA Cup finals had been shown on TV1 previously.

¹² Sean Jacobs, "It wasn't that", 97.

fathers or with their permission. I had to experience the FPL through the sports pages of the 'Extra' editions.¹³

This gave newspapers near-control on how the WPFB and SASF were represented. In particular the political situation surrounding the associations, unless you were a top administrator, was filtered almost entirely through the medium. This left the nature, the tone and the language of the story to the press which had its own agendas and manipulated the situation to these ends.

The newspapers that reported on the WPFB can be divided into three main groups: Afrikaans language newspapers produced for Whites, English language newspapers produced for Whites and the newspapers produced for Coloureds, primarily the *Cape Herald*. The Afrikaans language newspapers carried almost no discussion of soccer or Coloured sport. *Die Burger* began producing inserts carrying news of Coloured football in 1962, but these never did much more than print results.¹⁴ Carl Dryding described his role at *Die Burger* as a stringer, someone who is employed only to provide the scores.¹⁵ Any match reports were not printed in *Die Burger* proper and were relegated to the 'Extra' edition. This, according to Dougie Oakes, was due to *Die Burger's* strong government links:

you know Apartheid was designed to keep people apart and Burger was the mouthpiece of the people who were doing that.¹⁶

Since Afrikaans was the language of the Coloured working-class, the lack of reports in the Afrikaans language newspapers kept them in the dark over the politics of the Board and SACOS. If an Afrikaans-speaker's only connection to the WPFB was through newspapers, he could have been forgiven for not knowing what the Double Standards resolution was. Much less should he have been expected to understand the ideological basis or nuances of

¹³ *Ibid.*, 96-7.

¹⁴ Interview with Journalists Focus Group, Cape Town, conducted by Tina Smith and Francois Cleophas, 22/11/07.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Dougie Oakes.

the policy. Afrikaans-speakers, if they did not have personal links with SACOS/WPCOS, were sequestered from political discussion and could only view the resolution in local, sporting terms. As politics and sport became more intimately connected, this served as another barrier to lower-class Coloureds rising to administrative positions.

In this context it is not surprising that the Double Standards debate in many units lacked substance or sophistication or that units were so starkly divided. Metropolitan voted unanimously to leave the Board in opposition to the policy in 1981 while Cape Flats initially voted in 1978 to withdraw from the Board in support of the resolution. The two units had similar membership bases. Bonteheuwel and Heideveld are less than 4 km apart and were both generally regarded as lower-class areas created due to forced removals. Cape Flats' reaction to the Double Standards resolution was particularly chaotic. Within a week, in March 1978, the unit agreed with little reported opposition to leave the WPFB over its non-implementation of the resolution before reversing its decision and forcing its Chairman Johann Groepe, a strong proponent of the resolution, to resign.¹⁷ This divided response suggests that lower-class Coloureds still had very little say in WPFB unit administration. Decisions and the filtering down of political issues still strongly reflected the interests of a middle-class minority that had its own distinct preoccupations. Metropolitan's withdrawal in particular reflected the personal concerns of a group of Dominant administrators including Chairman Bert Erickson who played cricket in the integrated WPCU.

The coverage of WPFB football in the two major English-language newspapers in Cape Town, the *Cape Times* and the *Argus*, was only marginally better. Even compared to Coloured politics, Coloured sport was given very little attention. The *Cape Times* provided only sporadic match reports and rarely discussed WPFB administrative issues. These reports largely took place on Tuesdays and in 'extra' editions. The *Argus* had slightly more extensive coverage including match reports in its 'extra' edition every Sunday. From 1969

¹⁷ Lennie Kleintjies, "Soccer Split as Unions Pull Out", *Cape Herald*, 11/3/78 and Lennie Kleintjies, "Groepe Quits in About Face", *Cape Herald*, 18/3/78.

Ted Doman had a regular Monday column which discussed Coloured sport's administrative issues; however this feature ended its run in 1972. The sporadic reports that followed focused on 'elite' WPFB games: the professional FPL teams and the inter-unit Maggot Trophy. For many Coloureds who were more interested in their local unit leagues, these competitions were of peripheral interest. Articles on administrative and political issues were erratic and major events within Board circles such as the affiliation of UCT passed without comment from either newspaper.¹⁸

The WPFB was largely only reported on when it affected White football or transcended sport and entered the news section. A front-page *Cape Times* article on trouble at a Spurs-Glenville derby in 1972 was couched in almost apocalyptic language.¹⁹ The situation was described as 'war' and it was claimed that 'The rioters seemed immune to both dogs and bullets'.²⁰ While the security measures at the game are unknown, it seems likely the clash was exaggerated. At a game between Cape Town City and Spurs in 1978, there were just twenty-four policemen present to administer a 20 000 crowd.²¹ Bearing in mind the probable small police contingent present at the match, it seems unlikely that clashes between the police and spectators in 1972 were as widespread as reported. It is more likely that the event was hyped-up to fit a prevailing view of Coloured fans as 'unrespectable' which had seen Cape Town City ban 'Non-Whites' from several of their games earlier in the season.²²

It was not that the newspapers were pro-Apartheid. The *Cape Times* was generally perceived (within the White context) to be a liberal newspaper with a qualified anti-Apartheid stance. A former editor of the *Cape Times* compared the stance of the paper to that of the *Argus*:

¹⁸ Both newspapers did report on the later fallout of the UCT affair, but neither reported on the initial affiliation.

¹⁹ "3 Shot in Athlone Soccer Riot", *Cape Times*, 12/9/72.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ "Security Not at Fault, Say Organisers", *Cape Herald*, 18/2/78.

²² Parkway Peters, "So Many, by so Few", *Cape Herald*, 20/5/72.

The *Argus* has always been accepted as part of a powerful national organisation with a power-base in Johannesburg. Until recently this has been evident in the comparatively muted tone of its expression of editorial opinion. This contrasted with the more forthright attitude which has established the unique position of the *Cape Times*.²³

The claim of the *Cape Times* to be a true 'opposition press' has been questioned,²⁴ but the paper did run strongly critical articles and editorials on subjects such as forced removals, the destruction of District Six²⁵ and the Soweto Uprisings.²⁶

The reason articles were not written on the WPFB, and Coloured sport in general, was not due to political aversion to the SASF's non-racialism. Both papers, like the majority of the established White press, were 'owned and controlled by whites, aimed at or intended for whites, concerned almost exclusively with the political, economic and social life of the white population, and consumed mainly by whites'.²⁷ Regardless of their strong Coloured readerships, both papers marketed themselves primarily towards Whites. After its purchase of the *Cape Herald* in 1970 the Argus Group quite openly promoted the *Argus* as White and the *Cape Herald* as Coloured. The *Cape Times*, despite liberal leanings, remained White in makeup in a similar manner to the WPFB remaining Coloured despite a professed non-racial stance. The sports papers of these newspapers therefore focused on White football, the NFL, the WPFA (Hartleyvale)-administered Cape Western League and other well-supported associations such as the International Football Association (IFA).²⁸ It should be noted that

²³ Jagger Library, Hennessy Papers BC 1010, File 8 60, Norton to Lindsay dated 'Friday'. Gerald Shaw, *The Cape Times: An Informal History* (Cape Town, David Phillip, 1999), 290.

²⁴ Les Switzer, "Introduction: South Africa's Alternative Press in Perspective" in Les Switzer (ed.), *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2-3.

²⁵ Shaw, *The Cape Times*, 204-6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 274-88.

²⁷ Switzer, "Introduction: South Africa's Alternative Press in Perspective", 2.

²⁸ The International FA, based at Green Point Common, was established as a league for various White immigrant community teams, e.g. Greece, Portugal, England, Scotland. Despite 'rebel' league status, the league was noted to have the highest average attendance of any soccer league in 1978. A.C. Parker, "This Sporting Life", *Cape Argus*, 11/11/78.

while many Coloured fans supported Hellenic and/or Cape Town City, Whites were seemingly banned from Athlone Stadium for FPL games.²⁹ WPFB football, generally perceived to be of lower quality than 'White' football, was viewed by the newspapers to be of little interest to its target readership. Unless Coloured/African football came into contact with Whites, it was generally disregarded.

All of this meant that the White community, who received most of their news from the *Argus* and the *Cape Times* (or from SABC-controlled radio/TV outlets), lacked knowledge of the WPFB or the way it administered its football. Even within the WPFA (Hartleyvale) in the late 1980s, Eric Dalton, the former Vice-President of the White association, noted that many misunderstood the WPFB and its structure:

Like most people involved in the football association we didn't know much and uh ... um we didn't understand a lot of the way football was run in the football board and it still comes up today; now 20 odd years down the line. You know different ways they have running meetings, different ways they have of um ... instilling discipline and things like that.³⁰

The idea that leading White football administrators did not understand how the WPFB worked suggests that the average White reader would not have either. This created a vicious circle: the lack of understanding within White circles led to few articles on the WPFB which led to even poorer knowledge of Board soccer.

This lack of knowledge was exacerbated by a general aversion to what was termed the politicisation of sport. Coloured reporter Dougie Oakes described the situation:

DO: The thing is papers like the Burger and Argus, Cape Times, they didn't mind carrying the match reports. That was...they had no problem with that, but as soon as it came to the area of....

²⁹ Interview with Eric Dalton, 10/2/15.

³⁰ Interview with Eric Dalton, 10/2/15.

FC: controversial stuff

DO: then it became a problem.³¹

The aversion, while part of a limited oppositional strategy to Apartheid wherein ‘targets of dissent were carefully selected and comprised an insignificant proportion of the news’,³² was also a reflection of the divide between White and Black politics. The 1976 adaption of the governmental sports policy to allow mixed sport at club level was viewed by the government and SACOS as an attempt to buttress Apartheid, ‘as a means of buying time for (the) Government’s general policies’.³³ However, it was perceived in many White circles as a ‘liberal’ move which removed some of the most stringent restrictions of ‘petty’ Apartheid and as a first step towards removing the system. The uneasy alliance behind the new sports policy was summarised by anti-Apartheid journalist Donald Woods. He described a meeting between himself and the Sports Minister Piet Koornhof:

I wanted to end sports apartheid in order to *hasten* the breakdown of general apartheid, while he (Koornhof) wanted to end sports apartheid in order to *prolong* general apartheid.³⁴

The liberal, English-speaking press including the *Cape Times* embraced integrated sport as a qualified step in breaking down general Apartheid.

This created a significant divide from SACOS who (with opposite politics) viewed the end of ‘sports apartheid’ from Koornhof’s perspective. To SACOS it was a cosmetic change that barely altered the realities they were facing; in short there could be ‘no normal sport in an abnormal society’. The majority of the White English-speaking press therefore took up an antagonistic position to SACOS whom they saw as ‘politicised’ and as a barrier to ‘normal

³¹ Interview with Journalists Focus Group, 22/11/07.

³² Switzer, “Introduction: South Africa’s Alternative Press in Perspective”, 2.

³³ Bruce K. Murray and Christopher Merrett, *Caught Behind: Race and Politics in Springbok Cricket* (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 2004), 165.

³⁴ Donald Woods, *Asking for Trouble: Autobiography of a Banned Journalist* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1980), 237, cited in Murray and Merrett, *Caught Behind*, 165.

sport': a 1976 *Cape Times* column, termed the Federation unfit for unity talks because it was 'an organisation with a politician at the helm'.³⁵ The politicisation of sport was generally portrayed as the reason behind the international sporting boycott³⁶ which, while of peripheral concern to Coloureds and the WPFB, caused huge shockwaves in the White community. Nauright has described sporting sanctions as having 'perhaps the most potent role in undermining white South African confidence and complacency'.³⁷ The Double Standards resolution was seen as another means of bringing politics into sport, a sphere in which it had no natural place. When Bluebells brought the resolution into the WPFB by refusing to take the field in the Mahoney incident, the *Argus*' only printed quote stated 'It is a sad state of affairs if they bring politics into sport'.³⁸

Adding to the opposition to SACOS in the White English newspapers was the divide between the perceived importance of professional and amateur football. From a White standpoint, the unity talks of the late-1970s were viewed not only as beneficial, but as essential to the survival of their professional soccer. As seen in Chapter 3, unity was proclaimed as both the remedy to the NFL financial crisis and as a path to return to FIFA. The future of the WPFA (Hartleyvale) amateur football was a secondary issue. The problems the WPFB had with integration, the unit system, the future of its clubs, the continued inequity of the appropriation of facilities and the possible requirement of permits etc., were primarily amateur concerns. These issues were hardly mentioned in the White press who viewed integration from an almost exclusively White and predominantly professional perspective. Separate sporting concerns continued to divide the two groups.

When the WPFB decided to reject the Double Standards resolution and leave SACOS in 1978 the *Argus* struck a particularly triumphalist tone:

³⁵ Andre van der Zwan, "Joining the SASF is not the Answer", *Cape Times*, 24/9/76.

³⁶ See *ibid.*

³⁷ Nauright, *Sport, Cultures*, 153.

³⁸ "Refused to accept Mahoney as Referee", *Cape Argus*, 25/2/77.

What seems to be the first crack in the hitherto solid front presented by the (self-styled) non-racial elements in South African sport has become visible with the decision of the Western Province Football Board, an important body representing hundreds of soccer players, to reject a South African Council of Sport (Sacos) directive on 'double standards'.³⁹

The quote is striking in its lack of knowledge of the WPFB and SASF. The Board's refusal to implement Double Standards was hardly 'the first crack in the hitherto solid front'; the SASF had been suspended by SACOS eight months earlier and had been formally expelled from the Council. It should also be noted that the WPFB catered for at least 15 000 players not the hundreds claimed here.⁴⁰ The article goes on to accuse the Double Standards resolution of being politically motivated and being against the desires of football players in the province.⁴¹ The claim that the majority of Board players were against the resolution was directly contradicted elsewhere.⁴²

The WPFB and the *Argus* viewed the rejection of the Double Standards resolution in different terms. The article published a statement by WPFB Chairman, Wally Henkel:

And, he added with logic, that if people were sincere in their belief in the resolution, then they should apply it to all facets of their lives – not sport alone.⁴³

The report noted that this rejection created the potential for fresh unity talks. The WPFB did not connect the two events. To the Board all hopes of integration had been extinguished by the White WPFA (Hartleyvale)'s refusal to disband and join the Board at the end of 1977. Instead the Double Standards resolution was, as Henkel was reported to have also stated in

³⁹ A.C. Parker, "First Crack in SACOS Soccer Wall", *Cape Argus*, 18/11/78.

⁴⁰ "Guguletu Accepted into Soccer Board", *Cape Herald*, 28/2/82.

⁴¹ A.C. Parker, "First Crack in SACOS Soccer Wall", *Cape Argus*, 18/11/78

⁴² "Federation's expulsion can split non-racial ranks", *The Post*, 18/10/78.

⁴³ A.C. Parker, "First Crack in SACOS Soccer Wall", *Cape Argus*, 18/11/78.

the *Cape Herald*, rejected because 'soccer players were interested only in playing soccer'.⁴⁴ The *Argus* report, despite quotes from Coloured administrators, views the issue from a White perspective: how the decision affects integration prospects. The *Argus* article ignores the impact of the resolution on the WPFB, its members and its units.

The *Cape Times* article on the Board's withdrawal from the SASF was less triumphalist, but still portrayed the decision as the only reasonable outcome.⁴⁵ It states that even units that were in favour of the resolution, Stellenbosch, Cape FA and Ocean View, were still 'divided on the issue'.⁴⁶ This was accurate, but the critique gives no indication that this was equally true of the unions who opposed the resolution or that Cape District had already left the Board over its refusal to implement. The piece also prints a quote from Ronald Harrison, a delegate from Cape Flats stating:

It is a sad day when soccerites are being used in a game of political chess
as pawns.⁴⁷

In the White context, the phrase 'political chess' brought connotations of SACOS's rejection of unity talks and politicisation of sport, but to adherents of the WPFB this phrase probably meant something different. Chairman Wally Henkel criticised the resolution as a reflection of 'political fighting behind the scenes', a veiled reference to the divide between Norman Middleton and Hassan Howa.⁴⁸ It is likely that 'political chess' was referring to political infighting within SACOS rather than integration talks which a Board meeting had categorically rejected earlier in the year.⁴⁹ The White newspapers and their White readers who received little to no coverage of SACOS or the Howa-Middleton divide lost this context. The issue was therefore distorted.

⁴⁴ "Soccer Used for 'Political Ends' – Henkel", *Cape Herald*, 18/11/78.

⁴⁵ Yunus Agherdien, "Board votes against SACOS ruling", *Cape Times*, 14/11/78.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ "Soccer Used for 'Political Ends' – Henkel", *Cape Herald*, 18/11/78.

⁴⁹ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-2-2, WPFB minute books, 26/2/78.

Once Double Standards had been implemented, reporting on the WPFb returned to previous sporadic levels. Cape Town Spurs and Glenville leaving the FPL and going over to the SANFA-administered NPSL in 1982 made it even worse. Glendene and Santos, the two new Western Cape FPL teams, were barely mentioned. Articles were largely restricted to match reports; the only exception being when teams or organisations stood against the Double Standards resolution. For instance the *Cape Times* ran an article on the withdrawal of Metropolitan which opened by stating that the withdrawal had 'brought to an end an association of nearly 50 years'.⁵⁰ The Double Standards resolution, despite its tendency to unify as described in Chapter 4, was depicted as tearing apart the Board and the Coloured community. The fact that Metropolitan had been struggling for survival for the last decade due to the impact of forced removals was overlooked.

None of this is to say that the Coloured readership of these newspapers imbibed these messages uncritically or viewed the articles in the manner of a White audience. All texts are constructed 'through an interaction between producer, text and consumer' and Coloured readers and/or WPFb members may have come away with very different views to the ones intended by reporters.⁵¹ Some may have agreed that integration was the way forward but others, incensed at the lack of knowledge of Coloured affairs in the newspapers, may have gone in the other direction. The political impact of the sporadic and skewed reporting of the WPFb in the two newspapers is unclear. Its main identifiable effect was not so much in what it reported as what it didn't. By only analysing the Double Standards resolution in its effect on integration, hopes of which at an official level were all but extinguished, the newspapers portrayed the resolution as only outlawing playing for or amalgamating with a White body. The focus remained on the official level, and the impact of the resolution on individuals, clubs or units in the WPFb was not explored. Grassroots WPFb decision-making was

⁵⁰ Dennis Cruywagen, "Mets have left WP Board", *Cape Times*, 21/1/81.

⁵¹ John E. Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 15.

ignored which gave the Board, from this side at least, a free reign over how it implemented the resolution.

The third major newspaper type that reported on the WPFB was the Coloured newspapers of which the *Cape Herald* was the most prominent. The *Cape Herald* was bought by the Argus Group in 1970 and worked out of the same building as the *Argus*; however it held editorial control over its own content. One reporter stated that 'there was no way (there would be editorial interference), they didn't know what we would do'.⁵² The newspaper on occasion even criticised the *Argus*; as it did when the latter paper claimed the end of segregation at the Newlands Rugby Ground⁵³ whilst simultaneously printing an advert asking for Coloureds to buy tickets from a separate location to Whites.⁵⁴

While no editorial influence was exerted on a day-to-day basis, the Argus Group kept the news section relatively short. This meant that reporters who were interested in politics were pushed towards the larger sports section. Dougie Oakes, for instance, claims that he really had little interest in sport. His passion was politics; he later became a Foreign Correspondent and News Editor.⁵⁵ His weekly column therefore predominantly focused on the politics surrounding SACOS and the Double Standards resolution. It very rarely mentioned matches or scores. Thus the *Cape Herald* sports section became highly politicised.

Its politics were 'a very, very strong SACOS line'.⁵⁶ When the WPFB left the Federation, the *Cape Herald* printed some quotes from Northern's President Les Mondo which were critical of the Double Standards resolution and asserted:

White sportsmen are sincere in wanting to play mixed sport but it is the Government who is stopping them.⁵⁷

⁵² Interview with Journalists Focus Group, Ted Doman, 22/11/07.

⁵³ The home of White rugby in Cape Town.

⁵⁴ Interview with Journalists Focus Group, Ted Doman, 22/11/07.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Dougie Oakes.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Oakes went on the offensive with Mondo. He stated that if the Northerns President wanted to leave and join a White union, then he was welcome. Then he would witness how many Whites were willing to play in Bishop Lavis.⁵⁸ While no examples could be found of a team from Bishop Lavis being successful in White sport, Metropolitan Chairman Bert Erickson's Bonteheuwel-based Avendale Cricket Club seems to have been a member of the integrated WPCU without issue. Oakes, however, does not even contemplate the idea that there could be 'normal sport' in an 'abnormal society'. A club leaving the WPFB was always portrayed as signing a suicide note. Oakes termed the flight of Stephanians to the WPFA (Hartleyvale) as 'Sad. For, a move to the rival association will almost certainly spell doom for the 56 year-old club.'⁵⁹ The club successfully moved to the WPFA (Hartleyvale) and still exists today.

The problem was that while many members of the WPFB judged actions by their impact on sport, Oakes, due to his background, analysed disputes by their political considerations. When Metropolitan withdrew from the Board, after refusing President Bert Erickson's offer to resign due to his role in the integrated WPCU, Oakes stated that it was:

One of the most short-sighted decisions that could ever have been taken ... (it) would kill the sport in the Bonteheuwel area.

It is a blatant insult to ask black sportsmen to play cricket at a ground like Newlands on a Saturday afternoon – and then send him back to his sub-standard home in the townships the Saturday evening.⁶⁰

Metropolitan had voted unanimously to back their eighteen-year President in the dispute.⁶¹ Far from 'kill the sport in the Bonteheuwel area', only one club (Sea Point Swifts) left the unit in the year it spent outside the Board. While Oakes linked his opposition to 'normal sport' to economic and political issues, there is little evidence that the members of Metropolitan did

⁵⁷ Dougie Oakes, "How like-minded whites would have smiled", *Cape Herald*, 9/12/78.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Cape Herald*, 25/10/82.

⁶⁰ Dougie Oakes, "Mets Must Come to their Senses", *Cape Herald*, 21/2/81.

⁶¹ Dennis Cruywagen, "Mets have left WP Board", *Cape Times*, 21/1/81.

likewise. The extant evidence suggests that the members of Metropolitan were more interested in supporting their President and other leading administrators than in political concerns.

Everything Oakes (and other columnists) wrote valorised the Double Standards resolution and downplayed sporting concerns. In April 1981 the *Cape Herald* printed an article virtually canonising Glenville owner/manager Fred Eagles for keeping the club afloat in the FPL, praising him for, amongst other things, taking a bond out on his house to ensure Glenville's survival.⁶² When Eagles and Glenville left the SASF-administered FPL to join the SANFA-connected NPSL just ten months later, Oakes argued that the WPFB was 'well rid of Fred Eagles' and his disruptive nature.⁶³ No mention was made of the fact that Glenville's crowds rarely reached 500⁶⁴ and Eagles had been forced to send a letter to the *Argus* almost four years earlier begging for money declaring:

Because of high costs, inclement weather (which resulted in poor gates) the club finds itself in an embarrassing position financially.⁶⁵

Just as Cape Town City's decision to join the SASF in 1978 was described as a desperate 'last roll of the dice',⁶⁶ Glenville had been left with little choice but to try something. While in 1982 the NPSL received an additional R250 000 from SABC to televise its matches,⁶⁷ Distillers Corp. had withdrawn its R80 000 FPL sponsorship and the league had been left without a sponsor.⁶⁸ The flight to the NPSL was a last ditch attempt to save the club, to save the institution.⁶⁹ For Oakes and more generally the *Cape Herald*, who stopped covering Glenville after their 'defection', the only consideration was how the club had harmed the non-racial struggle.

⁶² "Fred would Sacrifice All", *Cape Herald*, 25/4/81.

⁶³ Dougie Oakes, "Good Riddance to Fred Eagles", *Cape Herald*, 13/2/82.

⁶⁴ Lennie Kleintjies, "City Clubs Battle for Survival", *Cape Herald*, 24/5/80.

⁶⁵ A.C. Parker, "This Sporting Life", *Cape Argus*, 11/11/78.

⁶⁶ "City - The Way we were", *Weekend Argus*, 21/1/78.

⁶⁷ John Dunn, "Soccer dispute that can't be settled on camera", *Sunday Times*, 21/3/82.

⁶⁸ "Confident Glens for KO", *Cape Herald*, 21/11/81.

⁶⁹ The club was not accepted into the NPSL first division and was forced to join the 'Zambuk' League which encompassed African township clubs playing in a 'promotion league' without promotion.

Dougie Oakes and the *Cape Herald* reporters essentially followed an ideology that drew on the legacies of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), a Coloured political movement based on 'noncollaboration and nonracialism' that was prevalent in the Western Cape in the 1950s.⁷⁰ The ideology witnessed a rebirth in the 1980s with political groups such as the New Unity Movement and other organisations such as SACOS co-opting the NEUM's strategy and tactics.⁷¹ Nasson described the organisation's outlook:

For an organization that saw as its mission the triumph of the working-class in South Africa, the NEUM's leadership, ironically, had relatively little direct contact with trade union or other working-class organizations. Its claim to being an authentic and distinctive national liberation movement rested more in the power of its ideas and arguments than in its organizational strength.⁷²

The *Cape Herald* reporters took a similar viewpoint. The argument, the ideas and the illusion of unity behind non-collaboration and non-racialism were more important than the reality on the ground. The reporters such as Oakes, who had comparatively less interest in sport than politics, judged actions only by their impact on the wider liberation struggle. For both political and personal reasons, the group desired to portray SACOS and its members as four-square behind the Double Standards resolution. Personally, it increased their chances of being able to write on politics itself, a desire that reflected and helped to construct their political, non-collaborationist position.

This led to all opposition essentially being ignored. When Stephanians passed over to the White WPFA (Hartleyvale), the move did not 'spell doom for the 56 year-old club.'⁷³ The *Cape Herald* however, as the only major media outlet intended for Coloureds, was able to make them disappear. In the WPFA (Hartleyvale) the club became little more than a mid-

⁷⁰ Bill Nasson, "Political Ideologies in the Western Cape", 211.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 211.

⁷³ *Cape Herald*, 25/10/82.

lower Cape Western League club and received little coverage in the White newspapers; meanwhile the *Cape Herald* stopped running any articles on the club at all. While Stephanians members and those in the Alliance community may have known that the club had carried on and was successful, this was not portrayed to those further removed from the situation in Mitchells Plain, Heideveld, etc.

All of this meant that the *Cape Herald*, despite its support of the Double Standards resolution, had no interest in exposing the limits of the resolution as it was implemented in the WPFB; to do so would have exposed the limits of the liberation struggle. Their goals, much like the WPFB's, relied on Coloured unity. This meant that the issues, noted in chapter 3, surrounding the implementation of the resolution were not exposed: Alliance President Sydney Lotter's allowance of Joe Schaffers playing cricket in the White WPCU, the lack of effective community ostracism of 'defectors', the use of Double Standards contravener ex-Atlantis President Sydney Louw to take photos by the Board all went unreported. The *Cape Herald* had no inclination to report on events which negatively impacted their personal/political goals. While analysis of local WPFB units improved in the mid-1980s when the Argus Group replaced the *Cape Herald* with Coloured community newspapers such as *The Plainsman* (Mitchells Plain) and *The Atlantian* (Atlantis),⁷⁴ these papers were essentially community mouthpieces and rarely criticised local institutions (such as their football associations). Other independent Coloured newspapers that were produced in the 1980s such as *Grassroots* had similar outlooks to the *Cape Herald*. In *Grassroots*, non-racialism 'was proclaimed as the accepted norm' and any suggestion otherwise was unpublished.⁷⁵

All of this provided the opportunity for the WPFB to publicly support the implementation of the Double Standards resolution and allow the units that so desired, such as Cape District

⁷⁴ Interview with Journalists Focus Group, 22/11/07.

⁷⁵ Ineke van Kessel, 'Grassroots: From Washing Lines to Utopia' in Les Switzer and Mohammed Adhikari (ed.), *South Africa's Resistance Press: Alternative Voices in the Last Generation under Apartheid* (Athens, Ohio University Press, 2000), 301.

and Ocean View, to enact the policy to its extremes. Meanwhile the more conservative units, such as Alliance and Metropolitan, were assured that it was 'never the board's intention to implement the double standards policy' and allowed to flout the laws of the resolution when they so wished.⁷⁶ This allowed the Board to remain within the SASF (and SACOS) while retaining Coloured unity and increasing its control in the midst of uncertainty. The institution was able to prolong its position and continue its football.

Criticism of this stance from the SACOS Executive level was almost non-existent. This reflected the inadequacies of the media but also that SACOS, as an organisation, became increasingly divided on many issues surrounding the resolution. The resolution, as Douglas Booth demonstrates, was rife with 'political antinomies' which made its full implementation both difficult and often inadvisable.⁷⁷ From 1981 it banned students who attended private White Schools. However students who attended 'racial' universities, including UCT and UWC, were allowed to continue SACOS membership. Hassan Howa explained:

It was acceptable for blacks to study at UCT because their knowledge would be needed by their community and in fact was essential to their community.⁷⁸

SACOS consistently argued against the provisions provided by the Bantu Education Act and that the provision of Black education was inadequate in comparison to White schools. Quite why the better education provided at UCT was needed, but that provided at a private White school was not, was never adequately explained and remained a point of contention within SACOS. Cynical observers pointed to the fact Howa's children attended UCT.⁷⁹ This meant that when a situation arose such as that of Herschelle Gibbs, who attended a private White school and played junior football in Cape District, SACOS remained mum. A Cape District official's argument that 'we are here to teach the children soccer and not politics' was similar

⁷⁶ "Soccer Board Spells it Out", *Cape Herald*, 28/2/81.

⁷⁷ Douglas Booth, "The South African Council on Sport".

⁷⁸ "Call for Sport Negotiations", *Cape Times*, 18/2/81.

⁷⁹ Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15.

ideologically to Howa's condoning the use of White universities.⁸⁰ Forcefully stepping in behind or against Gibbs would have caused serious disunity in the fragile SACOS alliance⁸¹ and despite criticism from its provincial council, WPCOS, the decision was made not to rule against Gibbs' club Yorkshire AFC.

SACOS was equally divided on the issue of the Industrial Leagues. The leagues, in Cape Town, encompassed mostly Coloureds, but were created and largely run by White businesses and had always been contentious. While they were officially classified as 'rebel leagues', it was often suggested that refusing to play was tantamount to risking your job. The WPFB's policy was inconsistent; it sanctioned a game between an Industrial league XI and Glenville in 1972,⁸² banned dual affiliation in 1976⁸³ and then accepted the Northern Suburbs and Southern Suburbs Industrial Leagues as affiliates in 1980.⁸⁴ The SASF outlawed the Industrial Leagues in 1981, but there is no evidence that any WPFB player was admonished for playing in the leagues. It seems unlikely that dual affiliation did not continue; the Industrial associations had always relied on Board players. This never seems to have become a problem with SACOS, perhaps because the issue heavily divided the Council itself. In 1980 Hassan Howa allowed Graham Lawrence and Vincent Geary of South Peninsula to play for Defence in the Defence Forces Cup stating that 'their work depends on them doing so'.⁸⁵ Dougie Oakes, the *Cape Herald* columnist, branded the decision 'a joke' and termed the concept 'doubtful'.⁸⁶ This combined with the lack of reporting meant that the Double Standards resolution, particularly its more controversial parts, were allowed to go unenforced.

⁸⁰ "Yorkshire Threaten to Quit Fed", *Cape Herald*, 27/10/83.

⁸¹ Particularly when the incident involved Cape District, the champions of Double Standards in the WPFB.

⁸² "Glenville's Industrial Friendly", *Cape Herald*, 29/7/72.

⁸³ "Players have to Decide", *Cape Herald*, 28/9/76.

⁸⁴ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-1, WPFB minute books, 17/2/80.

⁸⁵ Dougie Oakes, "Double Standards Clause now a Joke", *Cape Herald*, 6/9/80.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

The position of the WPFB vis-à-vis the Double Standards resolution had many parallels to the sports policy practiced by the National Party government. Murray and Merrett described the Sports Minister Dr. Piet Koornhof's policy:

Mixed signals about mixed sports thereafter proliferated as Koornhof sought to sell and explain the government's new sports policy to hugely different constituencies at home and abroad. The heart of the matter was whether the 'multi-national' formula at club level might allow mixed clubs and teams. At the Cape National Party congress in Cape Town in August 1977, Koornhof gave the assurance that 'mixed sport at club level remains contrary to party policy' and that the government's sports policy would 'in no way threaten the identity or self-determination of the race groups'. Yet in *Panorama*, a Department of Information magazine designed for distribution abroad, he was quoted as affirming that 'there is no law prohibiting mixed race clubs in any sport in South Africa', and that 'a club has the right to decide at all times who shall and who shall not be allowed to join that club'.⁸⁷

The WPFB followed a similar track. It assured the Double Standards resolution's proponents that it was being fully implemented and made all the public moves required such as re-affiliating to the SACOS provincial council WPCOS. Meanwhile, the Board never (according to the extant evidence) punished or censured an administrator who was not implementing the resolution in full.⁸⁸ It was only when the press, who had their own priorities, got hold of a story that the WPFB did anything at all, e.g. push Atlantis to terminate the membership of Sydney Louw for his position on an LMC.

The motivations for the WPFB and the government in these actions were broadly similar. Both wanted to 'project an image of substantive reform to the outside world' while

⁸⁷ Murray and Merrett, *Caught Behind*, 165-6.

⁸⁸ Unless he was personally involved in the infraction.

maintaining their general policies.⁸⁹ The government allowed and, by sanctioning SABC to televise matches after 1982, outright supported the racially mixed NPSL professional league. The league administered chiefly by SANFA, incorporated teams from across the racial spectrum of Apartheid: the White Durban City, African Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates and (after 1982) the Coloured Cape Town Spurs. Steadily teams increasingly utilised racially mixed sides. Despite professed national government support for the project and racially mixed sport in general, nothing was done to stop local authorities, particularly in the Transvaal, ruling against mixed sport. In 1978, it was declared illegal for White supporters to travel to Soweto.⁹⁰ In the same year, the Pretoria City Council declared that council-owned grounds were off-limits to non-White players.⁹¹ Mixed sport, as Christopher Merrett has demonstrated, had never technically been illegal; it was other discriminatory laws that had made the practice difficult.⁹² The status quo remained.

The WPFB implemented the Double Standards resolution in a similar manner. It attempted to return to the Institutional Settlement, detailed in Chapters 1 and 2, it had held before the destabilising events of the late 1970s. In these years, there was no rule against joining White football (or other sports) associations because the potential did not exist. The Double Standards resolution as initially passed by SACOS in April 1977 stated that:

No person, whether he is a player, an administrator or a spectator, committed to the Non-Racial principle in sport, shall participate or be associated with any code of sport which practice, perpetuate or condone racism or multi-nationalism.⁹³

On a basic level this returned the Board's stability, it attempted to regain Coloured unity and limit the threat posed from outside. The status quo remained.

⁸⁹ Alegi, *Laduma!*, 140.

⁹⁰ "Orlando blackout for White fans", *Rand Daily Mail*, 31/3/78.

⁹¹ "Whites Only Soccer Shock", *Sunday Times*, 6/8/78.

⁹² See Merrett, "Aurora".

⁹³ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-15-1-2, Printed Document.

The WPFB had no impetus from the media, the SASF, SACOS or its own ideology to investigate allegations that would have negatively affected the Board's ability to continue its soccer. Hassan Howa's WPCB stripped the head of the Stellenbosch FA, Matt Seegers, of his life membership in 1980 due to accusations that he served on a government created sports body in Stellenbosch and allowed his players to play in the White Boland Cricket Union.⁹⁴ There is no evidence that the WPFB even investigated the matter. The primary goals of the Board, the survival of its football and of the institution itself, of attaining Coloured unity and of reducing uncertainty were not served by removing the long-time administrator Matt Seegers for such an offence. The *Cape Herald*, despite reporting on Seegers' reproach by the WPCB, never questioned his position in the WPFB. The White newspapers did not report the incident at all. The WPFB, lacking any practical check on its power, was able to move along as if nothing had happened. The resolution was allowed to be implemented only when it suited the WPFB and its football-based outlook.

It was not only for high profile administrators such as Seegers that the WPFB bent its rules. When Joe Schaffers decided to go across to the White WPCU, he went and told Hassan Howa of his decision.⁹⁵ He was told that he would be ostracised, but Schaffers was committed to moving to the Landsdowne cricket club anyway. It was an experience that brought with it huge personal achievement for Schaffers:

And I said in my 4th or 5th game, playing for Landsdowne I took seven wickets for four runs and the four runs were byes. And they couldn't believe what was happening. We played against Police, P.W. Botha was on the field then, he was watching the game. We hit the shit out of Police in that game cos there was this feeling we were going to show you. And

⁹⁴ "Segers Deeply Disappointed", *Cape Herald*, 18/10/80.

⁹⁵ Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15.

they came into the dressing room after to shake hands and say well done.

But they saw what we could do.⁹⁶

Schaffers had made his decision; to the WPFB however, it was not beneficial to lose a player, who had previously represented the Alliance unit in the Maggot Trophy. As his unit President Sydney Lotter stated 'it's completely divorced from the sport of soccer; and it's cricket'.⁹⁷ Alliance, with little or no thought to politics, but with eyes on the survival of its league, its soccer, chose to allow Schaffers to continue to play. In doing so Coloured unity was retained, the uncertainty created by the more volatile cricketing situation was diminished, the loyalty to the WPFB was protected, Coloured football survived.

The Double Standards resolution has been described as creating a situation wherein:

Sport in South Africa (was) distinctively politicised, to a degree rare in Africa or in other societies.⁹⁸

In the WPFB this had not occurred. Politics had not subsumed the sporting institution. Instead, while it played a significant role in organisational decision-making, sporting concerns remained pre-eminent. Predominantly the Board utilised the politics of the Double Standards resolution in order to effectively realise its institutional, sporting goal 'to promote, further and control amateur Association Football in the Western Province.' This meant utilising the 'confusion' within Apartheid society to partially implement the resolution in order to ensure its institutional survival through the promotion of Coloured 'unity' in the short-term and the reduction of 'uncertainty' in the long-term. With these methods the WPFB was able to retain its status within the Coloured community.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Robert Archer, "An Exceptional Case: Politics and Sport in South Africa's Townships" in Baker and Mangan (ed.), *Sport in Africa*, 229.

Conclusion

The WPFB, the Double Standards resolution and SACOS

The WPFB's commitment to the Double Standards resolution did not last long. As a means to promote Coloured unity and reduce uncertainty and therefore ensure institutional survival the resolution, enacted in 1980, had proven inadequate for purpose by the late 1980s. While punishments for defections had become increasingly severe, players and clubs continued to leave the Board. Major clubs continued to make overtures to the White WPFA (Hartleyvale); two of Cape FA's biggest clubs, Aurora FC and Vanguard Spurs, were rumoured to have had talks over a potential move.¹ Knowledge of the resolution also remained low. To accompany a 1987 edict that anyone found guilty of 'defection' would be given a life ban, Chairman Vincent Baartjes was forced to write a series of articles clarifying what the term meant.²

The WPFB decided to return to a strategy of integration. In 1985 tentative approaches were made to the African WCSA and in 1988 talks began with the White WPFA (Hartleyvale). In these moves the Board led SASF policy. Following the WPFB becoming 'the first (provincial association) in the country' to enter talks with its local SANFA affiliate (the WCSA),³ SANFA and the SASF amalgamated in 1986. The 1988 talks with the WPFA (Hartleyvale) similarly paved the way for the opening of wider talks between the SASF and the White body's parent organisation FASA. Facilitated by the SASF severing its SACOS ties and joining the newly formed pro-integration National Sports Congress (NSC), in May 1989 it was announced that

¹ Barry Hopwood, "Schools Say no to Hartleyvale", *Cape Herald*, 12/2/83.

² UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-4-2-11, *Western Province Association Football Board News*, May 1987, Vincent Baartjes, "Let's Clarify Procedures".

³ Interview with Langa Focus Group, Vincent Baartjes, 13/11/07.

all of the major footballing bodies had 'committed themselves to the formation of a single controlling body'.⁴ The SASF official statement read:

Football is just one social aspect of the society we live in. It therefore cannot exist in isolation.⁵

The Double Standards resolution and non-collaborationist ideology were jettisoned. As part of a wider context of integration that included the unbanning of the ANC and PAC and the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990, the unified South African Football Association (SAFA) was established in 1991. Football was the first major South African sport to unify.⁶

In a sense the Double Standards resolution fulfilled its purpose of ensuring the survival of the WPFb's football and position in the Western Cape. Vincent Baartjes, then Chairman of the Board, was given a pre-eminent role in unity talks and went on to have various Executive positions in SAFA. The unity agreement also ensured the survival of many old Board units, even if in a curtailed form as a Local Football Association (LFA); as of 2015, LFAs include Cape District, Metropolitan, Atlantis, Mitchells Plain and Northerns. While many clubs were forced to amalgamate, e.g. the Alliance clubs Wymo and St. Lukes,⁷ or fold, many others survived and flourished after integration. Clubs such as Battswood (Cape District), Bluebells (Cape District), Sea Point Swifts (Metropolitan/WPFA), Parkhurst (Mitchells Plain), Norway Parks (WPFA) and Bluegum United (Metropolitan) all have long since survived the transition.

While some integration has occurred, the WPFb's goal to retain Coloured unity has largely succeeded. Due to the policies of SAFA and the legacies of residential segregation, historically Coloured clubs for the most part remain in certain LFAs with Whites and Africans in others. The Cape Town Tygerberg LFA for instance was formed out of the old White WPFA (Hartleyvale) and retains the membership of the majority of the former Cape Western

⁴ UWC, Mayibuye Archives, Papers of the Western Province Association Football Board, MCH82-3-2, WPFb minute books, 28/5/89.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Interview with Eric Dalton, 11/2/15.

⁷ Interview with Colin Daniels, 1/4/08.

League clubs including Clyde Pinelands, Fish Hoek, Camps Bay and UCT.⁸ Little seems to have changed since Jasper Raymond's description of the WPFB in the early 1980s:

We (the WPFB) want to have pink elephants in this District and we want green elephants in that District and somehow subtly, they were trying to achieve that kind of situation.⁹

Historians have generally viewed SACOS and its 'no normal sport in an abnormal society' ideology as a failure. The group was never able to gain the support of the vast majority of Black sportsmen and the organisation was marginalised within and eventually destroyed by the 'negotiated political settlement' that ended Apartheid.¹⁰ John Nauright has termed the group:

unable for a variety of reasons, both of its own making and beyond its control, to generate alternative structures or models for sport within South Africa, especially in disadvantaged communities.¹¹

Douglas Booth has taken a similar viewpoint, terming the non-collaborationist strategy built around the Double Standards resolution as erroneous.¹²

The experiences of the WPFB provide a different perspective; in sporting terms the Double Standards resolution, perhaps the defining legislative act of SACOS, succeeded. It ensured the survival of the Board and its football. By drawing no distinction between politics and sport, SACOS drew a fundamental division in viewpoints between and even for certain members. At times the adherents of the WPFB primarily identified SACOS as part of the 'liberation struggle', a weapon against the 'abnormal society' created by Apartheid. At others, the organisation was treated as a sporting institution and utilised consciously and

⁸ "History of Cape Town Tygerberg Football Association", *Pitchero*, http://files.pitchero.com/leagues/1953_1366967851.pdf, accessed on 26/5/15.

⁹ Interview with Rygate Site Visit, Jasper Raymond, 30/1/08.

¹⁰ Brown, "The Destruction of Non-racial Sport".

¹¹ Nauright, *Sport, Cultures*, 156.

¹² Booth, "The South African Council on Sport".

subconsciously to safeguard the extant interests of (mostly Coloured and Indian) sports associations and protect them from a National Party sports policy which, despite moves to 'normalise sport', still claimed to 'in no way threaten the identity or self-determination of the race groups.'¹³ This group, far from utilising non-collaboration as a 'principle rather than a strategy', used it as a means to achieve its sporting goals.¹⁴ Sport was not exclusively politicised, just as often politics were utilised to ensure institutional, sporting survival.

The WPFB it could be argued represented a fairly unique position within the SASF due to its almost exclusively Coloured base and its position as representative of the majority population group in its area. This does not however make the conclusions drawn from this case study null and void for the rest of SACOS. While regional variations should not be ignored, Chapter 5's focus on uncertainty essentially demonstrated the fears of the disenfranchised (but semi-privileged) minority; this outlook permeated SACOS as an organisation as most of its members were drawn from the Indian and Coloured communities. Even Chapters 4 and 6 which make conclusions drawn from specific instances within the Coloured community (and particularly the Western Cape) arguably better reflect a general response by a disenfranchised community rather than distinct Western Cape Coloured experiences. The WPFB remained associated with the Coloured community more through circumstance than design. The example of the Western Cape should also not be disregarded as 'abnormal' since it was this region that produced the architect of the Double Standards resolution and organisation's President, 1977-81, Hassan Howa. The Western Cape, due to Howa, the WPCB (of which Howa was founder and President) and WPCOS is often seen as the most radical area within the SACOS movement.¹⁵ The experiences of the WPFB, despite the proliferation of dual affiliation with the 'radical' WPCB, suggest this wasn't the case. This calls for a more nuanced approach to non-collaborationism and non-racialism within the SACOS movement.

¹³ Woods, *Asking for Trouble*, 237, cited in Murray and Merrett, *Caught Behind*, 165.

¹⁴ Booth, "The South African Council", 51.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

The outlook of the WPFB and its adherents suggests that SACOS and its ideology need to be viewed as representative of unique sporting concerns that stemmed from the socio-economic, political and cultural context that the organisation and its units had been founded in and grown out of. In this respect, SACOS or the WPFB should not be viewed as 'abnormal' sport. SACOS policies can be analysed in the same manner that Richard Holt examines British sport, class, nationalism, commercialisation and religion in his 1988 monograph *Sport and the British*.¹⁶ This allows for SACOS and the identities created within to be returned to the narratives of South African sports history as more than a political adjunct. It is hoped that future studies will take account of SACOS as a 'normal' (or as close to 'normal' as was possible in Apartheid) sporting body and at the very least use the experiences of the organisation as an addendum to the groups already studied in the works of Alegi, Merrett, Nauright et al. It is hoped that this will provide a deeper understanding of the motivations and outlook of these organisations as well as of SACOS itself.

The WPFB, SACOS and the anti-Apartheid Movement

SACOS, identified as a 'voice against apartheid sport' and implicitly the state,¹⁷ has been viewed as having 'placed sport right in the front trenches of the fight for freedom in South Africa.'¹⁸ The 'struggle' in sports has generally been analysed in the same vein as the political struggle: 'from the start opposed to racism and underpinned by ideas of equal opportunity'.¹⁹ It has been demonstrated that the WPFB and the Apartheid state were by no means only oppositional; their methods, their means and occasionally their goals overlapped.

¹⁶ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989).

¹⁷ Nauright, *Sport, Cultures*, 140.

¹⁸ Makhenkesi Stofile, "Sport is a Human Right – Opening of Conference Address" in Thomas (ed.), *Sport and Liberation*, 9.

¹⁹ André Odendaal, "Sport and Liberation: The Unfinished Business of the Past" in *Ibid.*, 15.

The WPFB's attempts to establish and maintain Coloured unity and the government sports policy became two sides of the same coin. While legalising and professing support for mixed sport, at a National Party Congress in 1977 the Sports Minister, Piet Koornhof, maintained that it 'remain(ed) contrary to party policy'.²⁰ As the WPFB wrestled with the decision to implement the Double Standards resolution, many of the laws that affected non-racial sport, the Group Areas Act, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, the Urban Areas Act, etc., continued to affect their sport.²¹ The WPFB, while it publicly espoused the rhetoric of non-racialism, remained committed primarily to sport within its own community. As Chapter 4 demonstrates, the limited moves to co-opt African and White groups were consistently overshadowed by attempts to retain Coloured unity. Claims to support mixed sport were belied by the group's actions.

Chapter 5 however demonstrates that despite these similarities, the WPFB viewed itself as anti-Apartheid. While it may not have located itself as part of a wider 'liberation struggle',²² the Board, by (predominantly) rejecting 'racial sport' and 'racial' bodies, was anti-government. This suggests that extra work is needed to delineate the meanings of the 'anti-Apartheid movement' and the 'liberation struggle'. The two phrases are too often conflated and attributed the goal of emancipation uncritically. As historians, particularly in South Africa, have held a tendency to embrace 'emancipation as an ethical value',²³ groups often are evaluated only by their adherence to perceived non-discriminatory practices at the expense of their distinct institutional priorities.²⁴

The problem with this view, as shown by the case of the WPFB and SACOS, is analysis depends on your perspective. While Avis Smith has demonstrated that women played a role in the non-racial sports movement,²⁵ SACOS overwhelmingly represented a masculine ideal

²⁰ Piet Koornhof, *Sunday Tribune*, 21/8/77, cited in Murray and Merrett, *Caught Behind*, 165.

²¹ Murray and Merrett, *Caught Behind*, 166.

²² See Jarvie, *Class, Race*, 64.

²³ See Booth, "Beyond History".

²⁴ See Cleophas and van der Merwe, "Contradictions".

²⁵ Smith, "The Invisible Factor".

wherein gender liberation was not discussed. The practice of 'passing out' parades and other discriminatory practices built around race and religion in the WPFb had reduced by the 1980s, but interviews suggest that they still unofficially occurred.²⁶ The Board's administration retained a strong association with the upper-classes and often utilised discrimination to protect their positions and accompanying status.

While studies focusing on the ANC have begun to demonstrate that the internal party politics of the group were much more complex than previously believed,²⁷ this has not in general been widened into questioning the meaning and categorisation of the anti-Apartheid movement or the liberation struggle. As the conflation of SACOS with emancipation has shown, the current approach is inadequate and paradoxical. The approach suggested here is to follow the framework set out by Timothy Gibbs in *Mandela's Kinsmen*.²⁸ In examining the role of the 'Bantustan' (government-created African homelands) authorities within the liberation struggle in the early 1990s, Gibbs suggests that the antithetical position between 'Bantustan stooges' and 'nationalist liberation movements' needs to be done away with.²⁹ Focusing on the case of the head of the Transkei³⁰ Defence Force, Bantu Holomisa, Gibbs demonstrates that Holomisa made use of a similar web of connections in his role as a collaborator with 'apartheid murder squads' and after his 'Damascene conversion to the ANC'.³¹ This suggests that the artificial barriers and extant categorisation of the 'liberation struggle' is inadequate.

It is felt that a similar approach is required for sports history in South Africa. Sport acted as a distinct institution in its own right which, while connected to politics, had its own particular unique interests. Attempts to place sport into categories created with regard to politics are

²⁶ Interview with Ahmed Fransman and Fanie Stuurman, 21/5/08 and Interview with Joe Schaffers, 11/2/15.

²⁷ See Arianna Lissoni, Jon Skose, Natasha Erlank, Noor Nieftagodien and Omar Basha (ed.), *One Hundred Years of the ANC: Debating Liberation Histories Today* (Wits, Wits University Press, 2012), Dale McKinley, *The ANC and the Liberation struggle: A Critical Political Biography* (London, Pluto Press, 1997), Anthea Jeffrey, *People's War: New Light on the Struggle for South Africa* (Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 2009).

²⁸ Gibbs, *Mandela's Kinsmen*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁰ A Xhosa homeland.

³¹ Gibbs, *Mandela's Kinsmen*, 6.

therefore inadequate and the definition of the liberation struggle must be re-evaluated to either take account of this or to place the sports struggle into a different category altogether. In this manner, we can hope to create both a deeper understanding of the anti-Apartheid movement/liberation struggle and to ascertain why certain political ideologies were embraced by particular sports organisations and not by others.³²

The WPFB and Coloured Identity

Mohammed Adhikari's *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough* makes two main arguments on Coloured identity: that 'through the era of white supremacy, Coloured identity is better understood as having been stable' and that this identity was in the 'first instance a product of its bearers'.³³ While the impact of Black Consciousness in the 1970s is not denied, through an analysis of James Matthews' poetry, Adhikari demonstrates that Coloured rejectionism was 'superficial' and that, regardless of the influence of the movement, the identity endured.³⁴ The experiences of the WPFB largely fit these arguments. The WPFB, despite professed non-racialism, never jettisoned its Coloured identity and in fact actively pursued Coloured unity. As a sporting institution created within a context of discrimination, regardless of its adherents' views on racial classifications, its wellbeing had become in some senses rooted in the stability of Apartheid segregation laws. While the WPFB was by no means separate from the machinations of wider Apartheid society, first and foremost this was an institutional culture produced and preserved by Coloureds themselves. Certainly the identity espoused by the institution was far from simply imposed from outside.³⁵

³² For instance in Alegi, *Laduma!*, 141, George Thabe, the head of SANFA is stated to be 'unsympathetic to apartheid's critics'. The phrase is not explained in terms of political or sporting meaning.

³³ Adhikari, *Not White Enough*, xiii.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 131-62.

³⁵ For this view on Coloured identity, see du Pré, *Separate*.

Largely, the case study of the WPFB follows the Adhikarian notions of what encapsulated this stable Coloured identity: an intermediate status, marginality, assimilationism and negative connotations.³⁶ After the Double Standards affair, the WPFB encapsulated intermediate status. Consistently players and clubs 'defected' from the Coloured WPFB to the superior facilities and finances of the White WPFA (Hartleyvale). Meanwhile, the community's 'relative privilege' meant that they could attract the Guguletu FA, White Spurs and other teams and players from the African WCSA.³⁷ Chapter 5 demonstrates that 'marginality' remained a key component of Board identity.

The WPFB however does not provide any evidence of assimilationism or negative connotations being major factors in institutional decision-making. For the latter, it could be argued that football was a fairly unique sphere of influence wherein, despite inferior facilities, Coloureds could be said to be playing on a level playing field to Whites. The case study does though suggest that assimilationist hopes were not as 'remarkably resilient' as Adhikari declares.³⁸ *Not White Enough* bases its argument on a supposition that Coloured society remained rooted in the ideals of nineteenth-century Cape Liberalism.³⁹ This ideology is categorised primarily as referring to the twin beliefs that society 'was on a path of inevitable progress toward ... social harmony and prosperity' and that all people were capable of achieving this 'civilization'.⁴⁰

This cannot be said to have been the case in the WPFB. The implementation of the Double Standards resolution was primarily an attempt to ensure the survival of the institution and its football within the Apartheid context. There is no evidence that the WPFB saw the attainment of 'social harmony and prosperity' as inevitable or that acceptance into White society was something they 'still needed to earn'.⁴¹ The Board only entered integration talks

³⁶ Adhikari, *Not White Enough*, xii.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, xii.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

on the grounds that White organisations would disband and affiliate into existing Board structures. Far from viewing White society as 'aspirational', this act placed their own structures as superior. The fear that Coloureds would be marginalised within an integrated football structure suggests that a future of 'social harmony and prosperity' was not taken as a given.

Perhaps, what is needed is a more thorough examination of the meanings of both marginality and assimilationism. The WPFB held many characteristics that could be identified as assimilationist, the administration's links to the Coloured middle-classes and the interest in social uplift chief among them. Indeed the initial communal take-up of football could be viewed as an attempt to be accepted into the working-class English-speaking White community. By the 1970s, however, the actions of the WPFB, including the implementation of the Double Standards resolution, suggest that assimilation was anathema to their goals. As the institution became more and more established, connections to the WPFB became deeper. Players developed profound loyalties to their clubs. Supporters developed rivalries. Administrators sought to hold on to their positions. This served to divorce the adherents of the WPFB from those of the other footballing associations in the Western Cape. Assimilationism was not only unsupported, but outright rejected.

The experiences of the WPFB suggest that while Adhikari's four main components of Coloured identity are not without merit, they need to be re-evaluated – particularly Adhikari's notion that these constituents were fairly stable. Coloureds had (for a multitude of reasons) established their own separate institutions including the WPFB. These institutions, oases of control, areas where they weren't marginalised, where negative connotations did not hold sway and the South African racial hierarchy could be questioned, became particularly influential. Institutional survival became a goal within itself. The importance attributed to the WPFB's survival overrode all of the components of Coloured identity that Adhikari identifies. It is suggested that this process in the Coloured (and for that matter others as well) community requires further evaluation.

The WPFB, SACOS, Politics and Sport

In the introduction, it was suggested that the side-lining of SACOS in the extant South African sports historiography is due to its (partly self-imposed) identification as 'abnormal': as captured by politics. This was not the case. WPFB decision-making was made in a very similar fashion to that of other sports organisations categorised as 'normal'. For example the WPFB's use of the politics within the Double Standards resolution to serve its sporting goals has parallels to Scottish clubs Rangers and Celtic exploiting sectarian divides to fuel the growth of their clubs.⁴² Celtic, by flying the Irish flag, and Rangers, by not selecting Catholic players until Maurice "Mo" Johnston in 1989, used their surrounding context to further connections to communities and their sporting goals. SACOS sport, a reflection and constructor of its own context, was not 'distinctively politicised';⁴³ it was, like any sporting institution, a combination of its own priorities and those of wider society.

The case study of the WPFB should serve as a stark reminder that politics can never completely define sport. Sport, whatever political connotations can be drawn from within, has distinct goals. With this separation, grows a connection among its adherents to the peculiarities of the game and its institutions. The co-option of football by the Coloured communities of the Western Cape may have initially represented assimilationist hopes of entering White society, but as the institution grew this initial thrust disappeared. Members increasingly invested their money, their time and their passions into their chosen club and/or the Board itself in a manner unmatched by their relationship to economics, politics or religion. In this context the adherents of the WPFB, its players, administrators and supporters refused to allow the institution to die. They refused to allow their clubs to vanish.

⁴² William J. Murray, *The Old Firm: Sectarianism, Sport and Society in Scotland* (Glasgow, John Donald Publishers, 1984).

⁴³ Archer, "An Exceptional Case", 229.

They refused to allow their football to end. Politics was used as a vehicle to serve the interests of the sport. Sport was given primacy.

The relationship of sports and politics then must be seen as reciprocal, wherein each side attempts to utilise the power of the other. It should be viewed far more akin to how we view politics and the state. Alan Lester et al. describe the state:

Rather than viewing this modern, post-1910 state as an institution prone to being 'captured' and used in the interests of one class or another, we see it as having its own 'particular interests associated with territorial sovereignty.'⁴⁴

This is essentially, the manner in which the WPFb acted. It was never wholly captured by politics or the interests of any single group, it retained its own particular interests associated with its sporting objectives. Within this, the WPFb used its part-implementation of the Double Standards resolution to ensure that it retained the ability to co-ordinate its units. This provided the Board sufficient autonomy within which to achieve its goals.

The relationship of sport and politics should therefore be viewed in a similar manner to how Alan Lester et al. suggest we should view the state and politics. Sport and its institutions can never be wholly captured by political interests because it has its own peculiar goals. Sport is never only a matter of life and death, it is much more important than that.

⁴⁴ Lester et al., *South Africa: Past, Present*, 10.

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